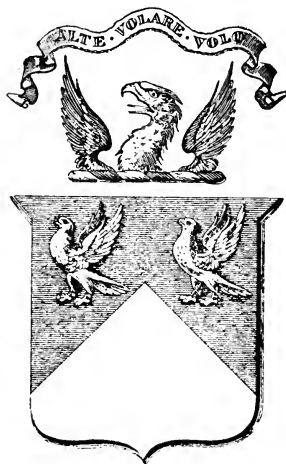


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# AN INQUIRY

CONCERNING

THE AUTHOR

OF

The Letters of Junius,

WITH REFERENCE TO THE

MEMOIRS

BY A

CELEBRATED LITERARY AND POLITICAL  
CHARACTER.

*by Richard Dugdale*

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“ Never did the promises or offers of private emolument induce me to quit my independence, or vary in the least from my former professions, which always were, and remain still, founded on the principles of universal liberty;—principles, to which I have always adhered, by which I still abide, and which I will endeavour to bear down with me to the grave.”——*Glover, to the Livery of London.*

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LONDON,

PRINTED BY T. BENSLEY,

*Bolt Court, Fleet Street,*

FOR JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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M DCCCXIV.

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ADVICE TO PRISONERS

HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

THE  
AMERICAN



ac

ADVERTISEMENT.

“ A new candidate has been started for the credit of *Junius's* Letters. The Editor of “ *The Memoirs of a celebrated Literary and Political Character,*” thinks that he has at length discovered this important writer, and he takes infinite pains, but we think without the least chance of success, to persuade his readers to agree with him. The *Literary Character* whose *Memoirs* he has given us, is evidently the late LEONIDAS GLOVER—but there is not a feature of JUNIUS in his style or manner. The *Memoir*, however is curious, &c.’

This is the only criticism which has yet appeared of these interesting *Memoirs*. The author of this pamphlet having considered the subject with some attention as to the features of resemblance between the sentiments contained in those *Memoirs*, and the

letters of Junius, feels himself disposed to entertain a different opinion; and that he may meet this criticism on its own basis, he adopts Leonidas Glover as the author of the Memoir, which in his apprehension strengthens the hypothesis that Glover and Junius were the same.

\* \* \* The Edition of Junius' Letters uniformly quoted and referred to, is, the 8vo. in 3 Vols. of 1812.

# AN INQUIRY,

&c.

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Though liberty may err through jealous care,  
That jealous care far oft'ner saves a state,  
Than injures private worth.

*Glover's Athenaid, Book 2.*

THE discovery of the author of the letters of Junius has been long a desideratum in literature. Not fewer than twenty persons have been named who are supposed to have had pretensions to that claim; but some fatal objection, in every instance, has hitherto disappointed the most promising expectations. Mr. Mason Good, the editor of the last edition of Junius, has, in his preliminary essay, given this summary of the character, and circumstances essentially requisite to be combined in whomsoever may be proposed as the author of those celebrated letters—

“That it would seem to follow unquestionably, that the author of the letters of JUNIUS was an Englishman of highly cultivated education, deeply versed in the language, the laws, the constitution, and history of his native country: that he was a man of easy if not of affluent circumstances, of unsullied honour and generosity, who had it equally in his heart and in his power to contribute to the

necessities of other persons, and especially of those who were exposed to troubles of any kind on his own account: that he was in habits of confidential intercourse, if not with different members of the cabinet, with politicians who were most intimately familiar with the court, and entrusted with all its secrets: yet he had attained an age which would allow him, without vanity, to boast of an ample knowledge and experience of the world: that during the years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, he resided almost constantly in London or its vicinity, devoting a very large portion of his time to political concerns, and publishing his political lucubrations, under different signatures, in the Public Advertiser; that in his natural temper, he was quick, irritable, and impetuous; subject to political prejudices and strong personal animosities; but possessed of a high independent spirit; honestly attached to the principles of the constitution, and fearless and indefatigable in maintaining them; that he was strict in his moral conduct, and in his attention to public decorum; and, though acquainted with English judicature, not a lawyer by profession.

“What other characteristics he may have possessed we know not; but these are sufficient, and the claimant who cannot produce them conjointly, is in vain brought forwards as the author of the letters of JUNIUS.”<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Vol. i. p. \*97.

In addition to the remarks of Mr. Mason Good upon those points which he considers necessary to be previously established, I must also add these from my perusal of the printed letters, and an inspection of the MSS. which I have been permitted to see through Mr. Woodfall's kindness—

It appears by numerous printed letters that Junius was intimately acquainted with the concerns of the city, with trade, and the language of stock-jobbers; and that he was probably himself a citizen, see letter, page 4. "The greatest part of my property having been invested in the funds, I could not help paying some attention to rumours or events, by which my fortune may be affected: yet I never lay in wait to take advantage of a sudden fluctuation, much less would I make myself a bubble to bulls and bears, or a dupe to the pernicious arts practised in the alley."<sup>a</sup> Again, "Sir, the Secretary at War refers me to you for an account of what was done—*Done*, Sir, closed at three-eighths."<sup>b</sup> By his letters to Wilkes he was as anxious that Sawbridge should be the first magistrate in the city, as that the Duke of Grafton should be the lowest man in the state; and he shews the same contempt for Bridgen<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Junius*, vol. iii. p. 91.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. iii. p. 425.

<sup>c</sup> If Alderman Bridgen were chosen Lord Mayor, Junius says, "a magistrate would be forced upon the citizens, upon whose odious and contemptible character Crosby founds his only hopes of success."—*Junius*, vol. i. p. \*270. And again, "it may suit such

as for Bradshaw.<sup>d</sup> In Letter 70, he considers himself as a citizen:—"I think it therefore absolutely necessary for us to rouse in defence of the honour of the city, and demonstrate to the ministry, by the spirit and vigour of our proceedings, that we are not what *they* are pleased to represent us, the scum of the earth and the vilest and basest of mankind."<sup>e</sup> Again, "If I saw any prospect

a fellow as Bridgen to shut up the Mansion-house," p. \*206.—Junius was so mortified when Alderman Nash was elected Lord Mayor, that in a letter to Wilkes he says, 'What an abandoned, prostituted idiot is your Lord Mayor! the shameful mismanagement which brought him into office, gave me the first, and an unconquerable disgust.'

<sup>d</sup> Secretary to the Duke of Grafton. See Junius, vol. i. p. 157, &c. &c.

<sup>e</sup> As this letter is interesting, to shew the partiality of Junius to the city, it is here printed at full length.

*To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.*

SIR,

10 March, 1770.

No man is more warmly attached to the best of princes than I am. I reverence his personal virtues, as much as I respect his understanding, and am happy to find myself under the government of a prince, whose temper and abilities do equal honour to his character. At the same time, I confess, I did not hear without astonishment of the answer which some evil-minded counsellors advised him to return to the sheriffs of the city of London. For a king of Great Britain to take time to consider, whether he will not receive a petition from his subjects, seems to me to amount to this, that he will take time to consider whether he will not adhere to the fourth article of the Declaration of Rights. One would think that this could never have been a question in the mind of so

of uniting the city once more, I would readily continue to labour in the vineyard. Whenever Mr. Wilkes can tell me that such a union is in prospect he shall hear of me."<sup>a</sup> Junius also wrote a letter addressed to the Livery of London, ex-

gracious a prince, if there was not some very dangerous advice given in the closet. I now hear that it has been signified to the sheriffs, that his Majesty cannot receive the petition, until he is informed of the nature of the assembly, in which it was composed. A king indeed is not obliged to understand the political forms and constitution of every corporation in his kingdom, but his ministers must be uncommonly ignorant who could not save him the embarrassment of asking such a question concerning the first body corporate in the world. The sheriffs, I presume, will hardly venture to satisfy so unusual an inquiry upon their own bare authority. They will naturally move the Lord Mayor to summon another Common Hall, to answer for themselves; and then, I doubt not, the corporation of the city of London will fully explain, to those whom it may concern, *who they are, and what is the nature of their assembly*. After all, Sir, I do not apprehend that the propriety of the king's receiving a petition from any of his subjects depends in the least upon *their* quality or situation. He is bound by the Declaration and subsequent Bill of Rights to receive all petitions from his subjects. What notice or answer the contents of them may deserve, must be considered afterwards. To refuse the petition itself is against law. I am persuaded, however, that nothing can be further from the intention of our gracious sovereign, than to offer a gross affront to the whole city of London. It is evident that the ministry either mean to gain time for carrying some poor counter-measure, by means of the wretched dependants of the court, or to intimidate the city magistrates, and deter them from doing their duty. I think it therefore absolutely necessary for us to rouse in defence of the honour of the city, and demon-

<sup>a</sup> Vol. i. p. \*253.

pressly to influence them in the choice of their Lord Mayor, *Letter LXXVIII.*

Junius also valued himself on his knowledge of finance.—*Letter XXXIX.*<sup>a</sup>

By the MSS. and other documents in Mr. Woodfall's possession. Junius was also, most probably, an author of other works, the printing of which he personally superintended; for his corrections of the press shew that he was acquainted with the printer's private marks and the peculiar manner of writing them: and in his confidential notes, which have been published, he uses the language of a man conversant with printers:—"I sent you three sheets of copy last night. Let me know about what time you want more copy," &c.

He could also write poetry apparently with facility, as appears by a poem among his MSS. con-  
strate to the ministry, by the spirit and vigour of our proceedings, that we are not, what *they* are pleased to represent us, the scum of the earth, and the vilest and basest of mankind.

MODERATUS.\*

\* This Letter, in the genuine edition, is signed *Philo-Junius*, but, when it originally appeared in the Public Advertiser, it had the signature of *Moderatus*.

Here it is worthy of observation, that when Junius wrote under the character of *Moderatus*, he speaks of himself as a citizen, but eighteen months after, when he wrote a paper expressly to deprive Alderman Nash of the honours of the Mayoralty, under the signature of Junius, he modestly calls himself a *Stranger*. See Letter LVIII. Vol. II. p. 338.

<sup>a</sup> See Addenda.



sisting of six stanzas of four lines each, evidently written for Mr. Woodfall's personal gratification; as, from internal evidence, the poem could never have been intended for publication. This satirical composition begins,

### HARRY AND NAN. <sup>a</sup>

*An Elegy in the manner of Tibullus.*

“ Can Apollo resist, or a Poet refuse,  
When Harry and Nancy solicit the Muse?  
A statesman who makes a whole Nation his care,  
And a nymph, who is almost as chaste as she's fair.”

It may also be remarked, that the ingenious device of having a subordinate character, as Philo Junius, to support the hero, savours of a dramatic feeling; <sup>b</sup> and his letters, written to Lord Barington, have characters and scenes.

From reading the private notes of Junius to Mr. Woodfall, it appears that the author had a personal regard for him, and that he knew him thoroughly. Of the sixty-three notes, only four conclude with words of ceremony. No. 3, which asks Mr. Woodfall candidly to tell him if he knew or suspected who he was, concludes, *I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant*; No. 6. concludes, *your friend, C.*; No. 8. *your friend and servant*; and No. 34. *I am very truly your friend.*

<sup>a</sup> Duke of Grafton and Nancy Parsons.

<sup>b</sup> As to JUNIUS, I must wait for fresh matter, as this is a character which must be kept up with credit. *Vol. i. p. \*198.*

His advice is marked by an affectionate regard towards him. "Between ourselves, let me recommend it to you to be much upon your guard with *patriots*." <sup>a</sup> And again, "For my own part, I can truly assure you that nothing could affect me more than to have drawn you into a personal danger, because it admits of no recompence." <sup>b</sup>

The poetical composition just noticed which he sent to Mr. Woodfall, as a private sally of his imagination, is conclusive that he did not regard the printer of the *Public Advertiser* as a mere printer and publisher; and when he asked him if he knew or could guess who Junius might be, it would seem that in his mind there were some grounds for his inquiry and suspicion.

In letter No. 19, when the prosecution of Mr. Woodfall was pending for publishing the letter to the king, Junius writes to him,—“If your affair should come to a trial, and you should be found guilty, you will let me know what expence falls particularly on yourself, for I understand you are engaged with other proprietors. Some way or other *you* shall be reimbursed.” This last paragraph sufficiently shews that the author had a peculiar regard for Mr. Woodfall; as his coadjutors, who were embarked in the same hazard on the common account, ought, if he had had no par-

<sup>a</sup> Private letter to Mr. Woodfall, No. 44.

<sup>b</sup> Private letter, No. 43.

tiality for Mr. Woodfall, to have been equally protected and indemnified.

Mr. Woodfall, so far as concerned the letters of Junius, was as secret as the author himself, and in no instance ever betrayed the slightest desire to penetrate into the mystery; but, on the contrary, with the most inflexible reserve kept his suspicions and conjectures to himself, whatever they may have been, and very rarely shewed a specimen of the hand-writing of the letters in his possession, even to his most intimate friends. This reserved and cautious disposition could not be otherwise than well known to Junius, and from what I have already stated, it is evident that there was not only a reciprocal confidence between them, but on the part of Junius a particular regard for Mr. Woodfall. This confidence was so well established that at times Junius seems to have been disposed to reveal himself to him:—  
 “Act honourably by me, and at a proper time you shall know me.”<sup>a</sup> And again, “I doubt whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but, if things take the turn I expect, you shall know me by my works.”<sup>b</sup> And in his private letter No. 6, I cannot help suspecting but that that part of it which has been supposed to be written in a negligent hand was so written by design.

<sup>a</sup> Private letter, N<sup>o</sup> 41.

<sup>b</sup> Lett. N<sup>o</sup> 17.

" SIR,

Sunday, Aug. 6, 1769.

" THE spirit of your letter convinces me that you are a much better writer than most of the people whose works you publish. Whether you have guessed well or ill must be left to our future acquaintance. For the matter of assistance, be assured, that if a question should arise upon any writings of mine, you shall not want it. Yet you see how things go, and I fear my assistance would not avail you much. For the other points of printing, &c. it does not depend on us at present. My own works you shall constantly *have, and in point of money, be assured you never shall suffer.* I wish the inclosed to be announced to-morrow conspicuously for Tuesday. I am not capable of writing any thing more finished.

" Your friend.

" C."

In this letter the words printed in Italics are in a natural hand, bearing no resemblance to the former or the latter part of the same letter, which is written in his accustomed disguised, formal, upright Italian hand; and this is the only instance throughout the whole of his letters where there is any variation in the principle of the written character. And here Junius is assuring Mr. Woodfall that he will indemnify him as to any expense that may be incurred in consequence of publishing his writings: that is the main object

of the letter, and as the essential words only are written in a natural character, I cannot help being of opinion that they were so written, under the confidence that appears to have been established between them, to give additional force and veracity to his declaration.

Junius was attached to religion, but he has nowhere declared that he was of the established church, though Mr. Mason Good has said in his Preliminary Essay, by mistake, that he was an avowed member of it.<sup>a</sup> "He was a true and hearty Christian in substance not in ceremony; though possibly he may not agree with my Rev. Lords the Bishops or with the head of the church, that prayers are morality, and that kneeling is religion."<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Vol. i. p. \*98.

<sup>b</sup> The whole of this letter, in defence of the religious principles of Junius, is sophistically composed, and appears rather to evade the question of his profession of faith than to explain it.

*To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.*

SIR,

26 Aug. 1771.

THE enemies of the people, having now nothing better to object to my friend Junius, are at last obliged to quit his politics and to rail at him for crimes he is not guilty of. His vanity and impiety are now the perpetual topics of their abuse. I do not mean to lessen the force of such charges, (supposing they were true,) but to shew that they are not founded. If I admitted the premises, I should readily agree in all the consequences drawn from them. Vanity indeed is a venial error, for it usually carries its own punishment with it;—but if I thought Junius capable of utter-

Agreeably to this view of the Author of the letters of Junius no one has yet been named. In

ing a disrespectful word of the religion of his country, I should be the first to renounce and give him up to public contempt and indignation. As a man, I am satisfied that he is a Christian upon the most sincere conviction. As a writer he would be grossly inconsistent with his political principles, if he dared to attack a religion established by those laws, which it seems to be the purpose of his life to defend. Now for the proofs.—Junius is accused of an impious allusion to the holy sacrament, where he says that, *if Lord Weymouth be denied the cup, there will be no keeping him within the pale of the ministry*. Now, Sir, I affirm that this passage refers entirely to a ceremonial in the Roman catholic church, which denies the cup to the laity. It has no manner of relation to the Protestant creed, and is in this country as fair an object of ridicule as *transubstantiation*, or any other part of Lord Peter's history in the Tale of a Tub.

But Junius is charged with equal vanity and impiety, in comparing his writings to the holy scripture.—The formal protest he makes against any such comparison, avails him nothing. It becomes necessary then to shew that the charge destroys itself.—If he be *vain*, he cannot be *impious*. A vain man does not usually compare himself to an object, which it is his design to undervalue. On the other hand, if he be *impious*, he cannot be *vain*. For his impiety, if any, must consist in his endeavouring to degrade the holy scriptures by a comparison with his own contemptible writings. This would be folly indeed of the grossest nature, but where lies the vanity?—I shall now be told,—“Sir, what you say is plausible enough, but still you must allow that it is shamefully impudent in Junius to tell us that his works will live as long as the Bible.” My answer is. *Agreed: but first prove that he has said so*. Look at his words, and you will find that the utmost he expects is, that the Bible and Junius will survive the commentaries of the Jesuits, which may prove true in a fortnight. The most malignant sagacity cannot shew that his works are, *in his opinion*, to live as long as the

Glover, the author of *Leonidas*, are united all the necessary qualities of such a writer; and, if I fail to substantiate my opinions on this interesting subject, I cannot fail to convict the politicians of his time of a total want of perspicacity in overlooking a man who possessed more requisites than any individual to whom those letters have been hitherto attributed.

Mr. Glover was an ardent politician in the old Whig interest. As early as the year 1739 he made a conspicuous figure in the city, and by his influence and activity was the means of setting aside Sir George Champion's election to the mayoralty, as, in his place as Member of Parliament, he voted with the court party in the business of the Spanish Convention, contrary to what Mr. Glover considered to be the true interest of the City of London.

Bible.—Suppose I were to foretel that *Jack* and *Tom* would survive *Harry*, does it follow that *Jack* must live as long as *Tom*? I would only illustrate my meaning and protest against the least idea of profaneness.

Yet this is the way in which Junius is usually answered, arraigned, and convicted. These candid critics never remember any thing he says in honour of our holy religion; though it is true that one of his leading arguments is made to rest upon the internal evidence which the purest of all religions carries with it. I quote his words, and conclude from them, that he is a true and hearty Christian, in substance, not in ceremony; though possibly he may not agree with my Reverend Lords the Bishops, or with the Head of the Church, that *prayers are morality, or that kneeling is religion.*

PHILO JUNIUS.

His talents, his knowledge of political affairs, and his information concerning commerce, gave him so much distinction amongst the merchants of London, that he was appointed by them to conduct their application to parliament in 1741 and 1742, on the subject of the neglect of their trade. To his sole management was consigned their application to both Houses of Parliament against the Walpolean commissioners of the Admiralty; and his exertions were crowned with complete success. At this time his character was so high in political estimation, that the Duchess of Marlborough, when she made her Will, left Mr. Glover, in a codicil, 500*l.* to write the history of the Duke of Marlborough's life: with this remark, "Mr. Glover I believe is a very honest man, who wishes, as I do, all the good that can happen to preserve the liberties and laws of England."<sup>a</sup> This codicil is dated August 15, 1744, and Mr. Glover regretted that the capricious restrictions it contained com-

<sup>a</sup> The manner in which this bequest is made, shews that the Duchess had a personal knowledge and confidence in Glover; and this is more strongly marked by the manner she speaks of Mallet, who was also nominated in her Will to write the Life of Duke of Marlborough, for which appointment she gives this reason: "Mr. Mallet was recommended to me by the late Duke of Montrose, whom I admired extremely for his great steadiness and behaviour in all things that related to the preservation of our laws and the public good."

Mr. Mallet had been a private tutor in the family of the Duke of Montrose,



pelled him to reject the undertaking: since, as he expresses himself,—“There, conduct, valour, and success abroad; prudence, perseverance, learning and science, at home, would have shed some portion of their graces on their historian’s page, and enlivened his cheerful labours; a mediocrity of talent would have felt an unwonted elevation in the bare attempt of transmitting so splendid a period to succeeding ages.”

He lived at this time in habits of intimacy with Lord Cobham, Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, George Grenville, Lyttelton, Dodington, Waller, and other eminent political characters who were in opposition to the court party, and his visits were frequent at Leicester House.<sup>a</sup>

Immediately on the death of the Prince of Wales, April 7, 1751, Dodington says, “Mr. Glover dined with me, and the Earl of Shaftsbury came in the afternoon, and we agreed to drive it to an issue with the Earls of Westmorland and Oxford, either to form a regular party immediately, or to give the point entirely up. If a party should be formed, then to fix the subscrip-

<sup>a</sup> His poem of Leonidas, from its patriotic character, was a great favourite with the Prince of Wales. Dr. Warton informs us, “that nothing else was read or talked of at Leicester House.”

The Prince, as a mark of his attachment to Glover, and to his political principles, made him a present of a complete set of the Classics elegantly bound. Mr. Reed says, that he also sent him 500*l.* but this is a mistake; Mr. Glover never received any money from the Prince.

tion for a paper by Mr. Ralph, to be supported by about twenty of us, at ten guineas each, and by what else we can get.”<sup>b</sup>

During the Duke of Newcastle’s administration Mr. Glover was valued by his party as a man of considerable political importance; and when Mr. Pitt first came into office, in 1756, he was consulted, and on that occasion drew up these preliminary conditions.

1. “Mr. Pitt should insist on a militia, and the dismissal of the foreign troops,—on the strictest inquiry into past misconduct,—and make a reserve, absolutely not to involve the nation with the continent, in case he should at any time disapprove of such a measure.

2. He should insist on displacing all the efficient officers of the last administration, and all others of every kind who are obnoxious to the public.

3. He must not give up one of these points to the King. In the present calamitous crisis, it is indispensably necessary, not only that the King should not be master; but that he should know and feel, he is not and ought not to be so.

4. This conduct of Mr. Pitt will be universally applauded without doors: if the King will not acquiesce, Mr. Pitt will have done his duty, and will be justifiably disengaged.

5. Calamitous events have set Mr. Pitt in

<sup>b</sup> Dodington’s Diary, p. 95.

his present high point of light. Fresh calamities will soon succeed, and raise him yet higher, and compel the King to these terms at last.

6. If it be alledged, that Mr. Pitt should pay some deference to the Houses of Parliament, the creatures of the late Administration, it is answered, No. He should think of no other support, as Minister, in so dangerous a time, but the rectitude of his measures and intentions; if Parliament will not support these, that Parliament may become a victim of public despair, and he have this satisfaction, at least, of being the single man spared by an enraged and ruined nation.

Mr. Townshend<sup>c</sup> entreated that he might communicate these propositions to Mr. Pitt, without concealing the author. Their first interview was on the Monday following. Townshend frankly declared, that his sentiments upon the present conjuncture were contained in a short paper composed by an old acquaintance of Mr. Pitt's; and on his inquiring who it was, mentioned Mr. Glover's name. He was in bed, and so helpless with pain, that Townshend read the paper to him: he gave his assent, excepting to no part, assuring him that that paper contained his sentiments likewise. One circumstance, minute indeed, but serving to illustrate his character, must not be omitted. Mr.

<sup>c</sup> This was George Townshend, created Marquis Townshend in 1787. He died Sept. 14, 1807, father to the late Marquis who was President of the Society of Antiquaries.

Townshend told me, that when he came to the fifth article, which ascribes Pitt's exaltation merely to calamitous events, without any compliment to his abilities or merit, he shrunk back;—Townshend perceiving his pride was hurt, interposed a manly comment, that whatever esteem the author might have of him personally, this was not an occasion to make compliments, but to state facts and argument; Pitt soon recollecting himself, answered, "I understand my friend perfectly, I agree with him entirely."<sup>d</sup>

Mr. Pitt also made Glover a confidential adviser after he was dismissed from office, on the 5th of April, 1757, and consulted him upon the answer he should give to the city of London, on being presented with the freedom of that city, and also, upon what political measures he should adopt as to a coalition with the Duke of Newcastle. On this occasion Mr. Pitt disclosed to him the most material occurrences between himself and the King during the late administration, by which it appeared that the King had never reposed the least confidence in him; but in Glover's own words, "was awed by Pitt's spirit and popular name to treat him with a civil, though inflexible reserve."<sup>e</sup>

Glover's advice to Pitt as to the kind of answer which he ought to give to the city, on receiving the freedom, together with his conversation with him as to a coalition with the Duke of

<sup>d</sup> *Mem.* p. 66.

<sup>e</sup> *Mem.* p. 85.

Newcastle, are very characteristic of his mind, and and much in the tone of feeling of Junius.

“Pitt asked me in what manner I would advise him to word his answer to the City of London, upon the compliment they intended to make him of his freedom. I advised him to be very general in his expressions, and to retain in his private thoughts as little regard to their present approbation, as he had done to their censure in the case of Byng; to form, as an honest man, the best opinions he was able, and ever keep in remembrance, that

Justum et tenacem propositi virum  
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,  
Non vultus instantis tyranni,  
Mente quatit solidâ’<sup>f</sup>

That his greatest trial was immediate; all orders and conditions of men were now united in one cry for a coalition between him and the Duke of Newcastle, whose instability, treachery, timidity, and servile devotion to the King, were indisputably known; and to whom, interposed Mr. Pitt, all our public misfortunes are more imputable than to any other man. But what must be done? we are now in the most desperate and flagitious hands, capable of any violence. The Duke of Cumberland would not hesitate to silence the complaints of an aggrieved people by a regiment of the

<sup>f</sup> Horace, Ode 3. Lib. III.

Guards, a measure which Fox would as little scruple to advise; I grant them, said I, to be the heads of a Catilinarian band; but will your union with Newcastle prevent the mischief? Do not imagine, replied he, that I can be induced to unite with him, unless sure of power; I mean power over public measures: the disposition of officers, except the few efficient ones of Administration, the creating Deans, Bishops, and every placeman besides, is quite out of my plan, and which I willingly would relinquish to the Duke of Newcastle. Give me leave, said I, to suppose you united in Administration with him; then let us consider the part which he (admitting him to be sincere,) will have to act. You have no command in either House of Parliament, and have experienced the personal dislike of the King. You must depend altogether on the Duke of Newcastle for a majority in Parliament, and on his fighting your battles in the closet; and, to speak plainly, using his efforts to alienate a father from a favoured son, who is your declared enemy.

“ Supposing Newcastle sincere, is his composition stern enough for such encounters? But, knowing him false, selfish, and insatiable of power, will he not rather make his own way, and re-establish himself in the King’s favour by every servile gratification of his will? Then shall I be grieved to see you, the first man in Great Britain, at this juncture, become a subaltern to the lowest.

Sir, you are governed by a noble principle, the love of fame; do not hazard that glorious acquisition on such precarious ground. As you are the only object in the nation's eye, every wrong measure, every miscarriage will be imputed to you. You may say you can but quit your situation again: true; but are you sure of returning to the same situation of character and importance which you now possess? Necessity brought you in, the last time; you soon found there was no raising an edifice without materials: the materials cannot exist, till calamity has utterly changed the temper, manners, and principles of the whole nation. Calamity, perhaps, is not very distant from us: when you can command your materials, and necessity puts the power in your hands, then resume your task. To conclude, I mean, that with such a coadjutor as Newcastle, and with such a House of Commons, it is impossible for an honest man to serve his country: and I am satisfied, that your magnanimity, experience, and discernment, must see this coalition in a worse light than I am capable of representing it. After all, Sir, if you must yield to the pressure of all your friends, and the whole publick, soliciting and clamouring for this measure, remember I compare you to Curtius, whose courage I should have admired when he leapt into the gulph; though, as his friend, I never would have counselled him to take that leap. I then took occasion to pass some

compliments upon him, which, together with my preceding discourse, drew this answer.

“I am quite happy in the good opinion you entertain of your old acquaintance. Let me assure you that I have drawn a line, which I will not pass: so far, perhaps, I may be driven, but beyond it—never.”<sup>f</sup>

Glover was now esteemed as a considerable auxiliary to the Whig party. At this time he interested himself in the establishment of Mr. Townshend's Militia act, and was one of its warmest supporters, and no political measure was agitated that was indifferent to him. On Dec. 21, 1760, immediately after the death of the late King, Dodington says,

“Mr. Glover was with me, and was full of admiration of Lord Bute: he applauded his conduct and the King's: saying, that they would beat every thing; but a little time must be allowed for the madness of popularity to cool. He was not determined about political connexions, but, I believe, he will come to us.”<sup>g</sup>

<sup>f</sup> *Mem.* p. 85.

<sup>g</sup> *Diary*, p. 373. Junius had also high expectation of the political prospect which was presented to the country on the accession of his present Majesty. “When our gracious Sovereign ascended the throne we were a flourishing and a contented people.” *Junius*, Vol. i. p. 50. “You (the King) found your subjects pleased with the novelty of a young prince, whose countenance promised even more than his words, and loyal to you, not only from principle, but passion.” Vol. ii. p. 66. “The King found this country in that



The last sentence of this paragraph plainly shews the estimation in which he was held by his contemporary politicians.

May 1761, he was chosen Member of Parliament for Weymouth, and sate till March 11, 1768. In this Parliament he occasionally spoke, and always divided with George Grenville. From this time he took no ostensible part in politics, but his political reputation was not at all impaired or diminished.

From a letter dated March 7, 1773, by Mr. Woodfall, ample testimony is given of the steadiness of his principles, and of the similarity of his politics to those of Junius, to whom this letter is addressed. "Should it please the Almighty to spare your life till the next general election, and I should at that time exist, I shall hope you will deign to instruct me for whom I should give my vote, as my wish is to be represented by the most honest and able, and I know there cannot be any one who is so fit to judge as yourself. I have no connexions to warp me, nor am I acquainted with but one person who would speak to me on the subject, and that gentleman is, I believe, a true friend to the real good of his country; *I mean Mr. Glover, the author of Leonidas.*"<sup>a</sup> By this declaration it would seem that if

state of perfect union and happiness which good government naturally produces, and which a bad one has destroyed." *Vol. iii. p. 371*

<sup>a</sup> Junius, *vol. i. p. \*258.*

Glover was not Junius, Mr. Woodfall, at least, ranked him the next, for political wisdom and sincere patriotism. To this letter Junius returned no answer.

In February 1775 he was intrusted by the West India planters and Merchants to support their interest at the bar of the House of Commons, to represent the evils of an association entered into by the congress, held at Philadelphia, which had for its object the injury of the trade to the continent of America, from the islands in the West Indies. On this occasion Glover was their advocate; he acquitted himself with the greatest credit by a very long investigation of the merits of the case, and an eloquent address to the House.

“I bend under the weight of a subject so awful, a weight increased by my own thoughts anticipating calamities, in which every inhabitant throughout this extensive empire, more or less, may have a share.”<sup>h</sup>

Speaking of Ireland with respect to the diminution of its exports, he says, “The evil hour is advancing, not yet come; no sooner come, than felt, it may produce a discovery too late, that high sounding words supply no food to the hungry, no raiment to the naked; and that these throughout our empire may amount to millions in number—But new channels of supply shall be found; our

<sup>h</sup> *Petition of the West India Planters, with the evidence adduced at the Bar of the House of Commons, Feb. 2, 1775, p. 6.*

potency can surmount all difficulties. It is full time to begin the essay in Ireland, lest, during the experiment, emigration, so constant there, should change to depopulation.”<sup>1</sup> He then reverts to the situation of this happy country with his usual gloomy feelings.

<sup>1</sup> *Petition of the Planters, &c.* p. 76. Junius says of the Irish who emigrated to America: “They left their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a desert.”—*Junius*, vol. ii. p. 77.

Junius thus regrets the state of Ireland, (May 28, 1770.) “The extraordinary prorogation of the Irish Parliament, and the just discontents of that kingdom have been passed by without notice.” *Vol. i. p. 146.*

*Junius to the King.*

“The people of Ireland have been uniformly plundered and oppressed. In return, they give you every day fresh marks of their resentment. They despise the miserable governor you have sent them, because he is the creature of Lord Bute; nor is it from any natural confusion in their ideas, that they are so ready to confound the original of a King with the disgraceful representation of him.

“The distance of the Colonies would make it impossible for them to take any active concern in your affairs, if they were as well affected to your government as they once pretended to be to your person. They were ready enough to distinguish between *you* and your ministers. They complained of an act of the legislature, but traced the origin of it no higher than to the servants of the crown: They pleased themselves with the hope that their Sovereign, if not favourable to their cause, at least was impartial. The decisive, personal part you took against them, has effectually banished that first distinction from their minds. They consider you as united with your servants against America, and know how to distinguish the Sovereign and a venal parliament on one side, from the real sentiments of the English people on the other.” *Vol. ii. p. 75.*

"I now return to England, not a member, but the head. Her sorrows I will leave to the contemplation of that superior class, which must be the ultimate and permanent sufferer. The sage Mr. Locke would tell the country gentlemen, that his visible property must re-place the loss of public revenue, that he must provide for a nation of hungry and naked, or sink into utter debility and despondency, when the sun rises no more on this once flourishing island, but to see the desertion of inhabitants, and a wretched remnant, wandering unclad and unfed in lamentation over a wilderness."<sup>i</sup>

On the impolicy of direct taxation in America, when we were by commerce deriving, from our colonies, all the possible advantage attainable in the nature of things, he says, "What looks would our ancestors cast on their blind posterity, who on every start of pecuniary contribution from America, have under three administrations been open-mouthed, and are still for American taxation? Let the three administrations have all the justification of *Defendit numerus, junctæque umbone phalanges*."<sup>k</sup>

<sup>i</sup> *Petition of the Planters, &c. p. 77.*

<sup>k</sup> *Petition of the Planters, &c. p. 79.*

Junius speaks thus, "Neither the general situation of our colonies, nor that particular distress which forced the inhabitants of Boston to take up arms in their defence, have been thought worthy of a moment's consideration. In the repeal of those acts,

“Sir, I foresee, these differences with America will be composed, and how—Here, silence becomes me best—It will be so late, that Great Britain must receive a wound which no time can heal—A philosophical sense of dignity must step in under the shape of consolation.”<sup>1</sup>

After reading this address delivered at the bar of the House of Commons in 1775, it is important, to shew the true character of Mr. Glover’s mind, the steadiness of his principles, and the boldness of his declamation, to revert to his speech delivered at the bar of the House thirty years before this time, when he exhibited the same lofty tone of feeling, and the same spirit of independence.

“Sir, after the many grievances already enumerated, to tell the Committee<sup>m</sup> that the heaviest is yet behind, will perhaps awaken their astonishment, and, I humbly hope, bespeak their patience a little longer. However considerable, however

which were most offensive to America, the parliament have done every thing, but remove the offence. They have relinquished the revenue, but judiciously taken care to preserve the contention. It is not pretended that the continuance of the tea duty is to produce any direct benefit whatsoever to the mother country. What is it then but an odious, unprofitable exertion of a speculative right, and fixing a badge of slavery upon the Americans, without service to their masters? But it has pleased God to give us a ministry and a parliament, who are neither to be persuaded by argument, nor instructed by experience.” *Vol. ii. p. 147.*

<sup>1</sup> *Petition of the Planters, &c. p. 87.*

<sup>m</sup> This was a committee of the whole House.

meritorious to the public the mercantile interest of Great Britain may appear at this bar; whatever degree of indulgence and regard the merchants may have found from this great assembly, in other places they have severely experienced that they were deemed unworthy of the public concern: their complaints have been received with indifference, and their misfortunes imbittered with insult and scorn. Have applications been made setting forth the misconduct of a commander who deserted the trade under his convoy, and left it exposed as a prey to the enemy? Was any redress obtained? What answer was returned but this? *What would you have with this captain, would you have him turned out, and the master of a merchant-man put into his room? You would have all the captains of his Majesty's ships turned out, and masters of merchant-men put into their place?* Have public representations been made from our Northern Colonies, that their coast was neglected and defenceless? was the least remedy applied to the evil? or does it appear that the commanders, the most notoriously guilty of neglect, have met with the least rebuke? Has murder been committed in the arbitrary impressing of men, the law violated, and the civil magistrate set at defiance? Was a regular complaint preferred against this proceeding? What reparation has been made? or in what manner has justice been satisfied? The law underwent a second violation from the military

power, the murderers were acquitted by a mock trial in a court-martial, who might have been condemned in a court of justice, and are at this hour liable to be tried for wilful murder."<sup>m</sup>

From the year 1775 Mr. Glover retired from public business, but was not indifferent to public concerns to the day of his death, which took place Nov. 25, 1785.

In his person and habits he was a finished gentleman of the old school, slow and precise in his manner, grave and serious in his deportment, and always in the highest degree decorous; but his natural temper was, though benevolent, at once irritable and violent.<sup>n</sup> He was very strict in his moral conduct, and although he went to the established church, was brought up a dissenter. Before the year 1776, he wore a bag, his wig very accurately dressed, and a small cocked hat under his arm, and in this costume, in fine

<sup>m</sup> *A short Account of the late Application to Parliament by the Merchants of London, upon the Neglect of their Trade, as summed up by Mr. Glover at the Bar of the House of Commons, Jan. 27, 1742. p. 49.*

This accusation cannot fail to remind the reader of the affair of Mac Quirk.—Junius, Letter VIII. In the letter of Junius to the Livery of London, Vol. ii. p. 344; and against Lord Mansfield, vol. ii. p. 355. is shewn the same style of interrogatory declamation.

<sup>n</sup> Junius says of himself that he was naturally phlegmatic, but, that any measure which had a tendency to invade the laws, directly, or indirectly, or to sap the constitution, roused his passions. *Vol. i. p. \*308.*

weather, he constantly walked from his house in James Street, Westminster, into the City. Afterwards he gradually changed his dress to conform, in some degree, to the fashion of the day. I have been thus particular, because I cannot help suspecting that the person described by Mr. Jackson, who threw a letter into Mr. Woodfall's office in Ivy Lane, was Mr. Glover himself, though he describes the person as a tall Gentleman, which does not correspond to Mr. Glover's stature. In reading Mr. Good's note, which records this incident, one difficulty occurred still more objectionable; that as Glover must have been well known to Mr. Woodfall, it was improbable that he should put his discovery to such a hazard; but from information, not given by Mr. Good, I find that the letter from Junius was thrown into the office between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, which is a material circumstance, and ought not to have been omitted in the relation of that incident.<sup>a</sup>

From a review of Mr. Glover's life and writings, it is obvious that his mind was devoted to political

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Jackson, the present respectable proprietor of the Ipswich Journal, was at this time in the employment of the late Mr. Woodfall, and he observed to the editor, in September last, that he once saw a tall Gentleman, dressed in a light coat with bag and sword, throw into the office door opening in Ivy Lane, a letter of Junius's, which he picked up, and immediately followed the bearer of it into St. Paul's Church-yard, where he got into a hackney coach, and drove off. But whether this was "the gentleman who transacted the conveyancing part" or JUNIUS himself, it is impossible to ascertain. *Junius*, Vol. I. p. \*43.



considerations; but such was his reserve on those subjects, that in his own domestic circle and by his fire-side, he was always the poet or philosopher, or an agreeable narrator of familiar incidents; and never permitted political discussions to intrude. When occasionally any question arose, which involved political inquiry, he would turn the subject aside, by referring the question to Mr. A. or B. who, he would playfully observe, was a consummate Doctor in that art.

Junius represents himself to be a family man, *Letter XXXIII, Vol. III.* and alludes to that state of domestic enjoyment, in his letter to Mr. Wilkes, well suited to Mr. Glover's habits, "The domestic society you speak of is much to be envied. I fancy I should like it still better than you do. I too am no enemy to good fellowship, and have often cursed that canting parson for wishing to deny you your claret. It is for *him* and men like *him*, to beware of intoxication. Though I do not place the little pleasures of life in competition with the glorious business of instructing and directing the people; yet I see no reason why a wise man may not unite the public virtues of Cato with the indulgence of Epicurus."<sup>a</sup>

Mr. Glover was an accomplished scholar,<sup>b</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> *Junius*, vol. i, p. \*313.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Warton says, that Glover was one of the best and most accurate Greek scholars of his time. It is singular that when Junius writes a larger character than his accustomed feigned hand, as in the superscription of a letter, he forms the letter (a) upon the principle of a Greek *Alpha* ( $\alpha$ ), such as the *a* in *Paternoster Row*,

had all the advantages that affluent circumstances and the best company could give. He was ever strongly attached to the principles of the constitution: his politics were those of Junius;<sup>b</sup> and he was of the private councils of men in the highest station in the state, throughout the greater part of a long and active life. At the time the Letters of Junius were written, he had attained an age which could allow him, without vanity, to boast of an ample knowledge and experience of the world; and during the period of their publication he resided in London, and was engaged in no pursuits incompatible with his devoting his time to their composition; so that, in his letter to Mr. Wilkes, he might justly say, "I offer you the sincere opinion of a man who perhaps has more leisure to make reflections than you have, and who, though he stands clear of business and intrigue, mixes sufficiently for the purposes of intelligence in the conversation of the world."<sup>c</sup> Thus, agreeably to any hypothesis that has been formed of Junius, the character of Mr. Glover accurately corresponds.

During the whole of Mr. Glover's life, it does not appear that he ever had any place or official appointment. Of all his political connexions,

given as a facsimile, though imperfectly, in vol. i. of Mr. Mason Good's edition, which would seem to imply that the author was in the habit of writing Greek.

<sup>b</sup> See the political opinions of Junius stated, p. 51.

<sup>c</sup> *Last edition of Junius*, vol. i. p. \*265.

Mr. Samuel Martin was a man for whom he had an uniform esteem; they were governed by the same political principles through life; he calls him the "sincerest of mankind, and the strictest observer of truth." I mention this circumstance to shew a remarkable similarity of feeling between a passage, in Junius and one, expressing the same sentiment, contained in a letter written to the Duke of Newcastle, a copy of which was privately sent to Mr. Glover. Martin refused 1500*l.* a year from the Duke of Newcastle upon principle, saying, "What I have thought wrong in the case of others, I should be self-condemned, if I consented to, and became a principal party in, for my own private emolument. I do not presume to judge your Grace, who is not to be tried by my principles, and to whom I am beholden for seeking every expedient to serve me; but these principles, such as they are, whether sound or whimsical, must govern me."<sup>a</sup> Junius says, "It is true I have refused offers which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted; whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm that I *am in earnest*, because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry are driving this country to destruction."<sup>b</sup>

Mr. Glover did ~~not~~ receive his education at

<sup>a</sup> See this letter in the Addenda.

<sup>b</sup> Junius, Vol. III. p. 202.

either of the Universities, neither has the author of the Letters of Junius shewn any affection towards them; but, on the contrary, Cambridge is made to share some portion of the satire that he bestows on its Chancellor. "Whenever the spirit of distributing prebends and bishopricks shall have departed from you, you will find that learned seminary perfectly recovered from the delirium of an installation, and, what in truth it ought to be, once more become a peaceful scene of slumber and thoughtless meditation."<sup>b</sup> To Sir Wm. Draper Junius says, "An academical education has given you an unlimited command over the most beautiful figures of speech.—I will not contend with you in point of composition, you are a scholar, Sir William, and if I am truly informed, you write Latin with almost as much purity as English. Suffer me then, for I am a plain unlettered man, to continue that style of interrogation, which suits my capacity, and to which, considering the readiness of your answers, you ought to have no objection."<sup>c</sup>

Such expressions of themselves have but little weight; but as the character of a man is sometimes seen in little traits, and is most genuine, where least suspected, these reflections on the University will appear striking when contrasted with the same author's sense of the dignity of the City of London. "A king indeed is not obliged to under-

stand the political forms and constitution of every corporation in his dominions; but his ministers must be uncommonly ignorant who could not save him the embarrassment of asking such a question concerning the first body corporate in the world; who, I doubt not, will fully explain to those to whom it may concern, *who they are*, and what is the *nature of their assembly*.”<sup>a</sup>

Junius always speaks of city honours with becoming respect, while he speaks of the rank of Nobility with irritation and contempt. “Crosby’s view must be directed, then, to the flattering distinction of succeeding to a second Mayoralty, and, what is still more honourable, to the being thought worthy of it by his fellow-citizens.” “I should be glad to mortify those contemptible creatures who call themselves noblemen.” *Great men* are indeed a worthless, pitiful race.

Mr. Glover wrote with great difficulty to himself, and all his literary compositions cost him much labour. In this respect there is a great analogy between him and Junius, who when he did not take pains, wrote very unlike himself. No one would imagine that these two letters could have been written by the same person. All his letters signed PHILO-JUNIUS are of a subordinate character to those signed JUNIUS.

<sup>a</sup> Vol. III. p. 259.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

*Is it enough that Abra should be great  
In the wall'd palace or the rural seat?  
Oh, no! Jerusalem combined must see  
My open shame and boasted infamy.*

MY LORD,

PERMIT me to congratulate your grace upon a piece of good fortune which few men, of the best established reputation, have been able to attain to. The most accomplished persons have usually some defect, some weakness in their characters, which diminishes the lustre of their brighter qualifications. Tiberius had his forms:—Charteris now and then deviated into honesty; and even Lord Bute prefers the simplicity of seduction to the poignant pleasures of a rape. But yours, my lord, is a perfect character: through every line of public and of private life you are consistent with yourself. After doing every thing, in your public station, that a minister might reasonably be ashamed of, you have determined, with a noble spirit of uniformity, to mark your personal history by such strokes as a gentleman, without any great disgrace to his assurance, might be permitted to blush for. I had already conceived a high opinion of your talents and disposition. Whether the property of the subject, or the general rights of the nation were to be invaded; or

whether you were tired of one lady, and chose another for the honourable companion of your pleasures; whether it was a horse-race or a hazard-table; a noble disregard of forms seemed to operate through all your conduct. But you have exceeded my warmest expectations. Highly as I thought of you, your grace must pardon me when I confess that there was one effort which I did not think you equal to. I did not think you capable of exhibiting the lovely Thais<sup>a</sup> at the opera-house, of sitting a whole night by her side, of calling for her carriage yourself, and of leading her to it through a crowd of the first men and women in the kingdom. To a mind like yours, my lord, such an outrage to your wife, such a triumph over decency, such insult to the company, must have afforded the highest gratification. When all the ordinary resources of pleasure were exhausted, this I presume was your *novissima voluptas*. It is of a lasting nature, my lord, and I dare say will give you as much pleasure upon reflection, as it did in the enjoyment. After so honourable an achievement, a poet's imagination could add but one ray more to the lustre of your character. Obtain a divorce, marry the lady, and I do not doubt but Mr. Bradshaw will be civil enough to give her away with an honest, artless smile of approbation.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Nancy Parsons, afterwards Lady Maynard.

<sup>b</sup> Letter XLI. is one of the best of the compositions of Ju-

## TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR.

7 September, 1769.

I FIND myself unexpectedly married in the newspapers without my knowledge or consent. Since I am fated to be a husband, I hope at least the lady will perform the principal duty of a wife. Marriages, they say, are made in heaven, but they are consummated upon earth, and since *Junia* has adopted my name, she cannot, in common matrimonial decency, refuse to make me a tender of her person. Politics are too barren a subject for a new married couple. I should be glad to furnish her with one more fit for a lady to handle, and better suited to the natural dexterity of her sex. In short, if *Junia* be young and handsome, she will have no reason to complain of my method of conducting an argument. I abominate all tergiversation in discourse, and she may be assured that whatever I advance, whether it be weak or forcible, shall, at any rate, be directly in point. It is true I am a strenuous advocate for liberty and property, but when these rights are invaded by a pretty woman, I am neither able to defend my money nor my freedom. The divine right of beauty is the only one an

nus, which I should have printed in the stead of this, had it not been quite so long.



Englishman ought to acknowledge, and a pretty woman the only tyrant he is not authorised to resist."

JUNIUS.

When style in writing is to be considered as evidence, for, or against, the resemblance of different authors, it is of the utmost importance to attend to the circumstances under which the author wrote, and the object he had in view. If they are lost sight of, wrangling will supply the place of argument, and fallacious conclusions will be the result.<sup>a</sup>

This extract conveys no idea of the acrimonious style of Junius, or the acuteness of his mind. "As to cutting away the rotten boroughs, I am as much offended as any man at seeing so many of them under the direct influence of the crown, or at the disposal of private persons, yet I own I have both doubts and apprehensions, in regard to the remedy you propose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an unusual want of political intrepidity, when I honestly confess to you, that I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation. In the first place, I question the power *de jure* of the legislature to disfranchise a number of boroughs

<sup>a</sup> This remark I should have thought unnecessary, had I not found intelligent persons who have compared the Memoir of Glover, with the Letters of Junius, as if they were in all respects to be considered as similar compositions.

upon the general ground of improving the constitution. There cannot be a doctrine more fatal to the liberty and property we are contending for, than that which confounds the idea of a *supreme* and an *arbitrary* legislature. I need not point out to you, the fatal purposes to which it has been, and may be applied. If we are sincere in the political creed we profess, there are many things which we ought to affirm, cannot be done by King, Lords, and Commons. Among these I reckon the disfranchising a borough with a general view to improvement. I consider it as equivalent to robbing the parties concerned, of their freehold, of their birthright. I say, that although this birthright may be forfeited, or the exercise of it suspended in particular cases, it cannot be taken away by a general law, for any real or pretended purpose of improving the constitution. I believe there is no power in this country to make such a law. Supposing the attempt made, I am persuaded you cannot mean that either King or Lords should take an active part in it. A bill, which only touches the representation of the people, must originate in the House of Commons, in the formation and mode of passing it. The exclusive right of the Commons must be asserted as scrupulously as in the case of a Money Bill. Now, Sir, I should be glad to know by what kind of reasoning it can be proved that there is a power vested in the representative to destroy his immu-

diate constituent: from whence could he possibly derive it? A courtier, I know, will be ready enough to maintain the affirmative. The doctrine suits him exactly, because it gives an unlimited operation to the influence of the crown. But we, Mr. Wilkes, must hold a different language. It is no answer to me to say, that the bill, when it passes the House of Commons, is the act of the majority, and not of the representatives of the particular boroughs concerned. If the majority can disfranchise ten boroughs, why not twenty? Why not the whole kingdom? Why should not they make their own seats in parliament for life? When the Septennial Act passed, the legislature did what apparently and palpably they had no power to do; but they did more than people in general were aware of; they disfranchised the whole kingdom for four years.”\*

When from the distressed state of the King's Councils, in the year 1745, Mr. Pitt was first forced into the administration, Mr. Glover expresses himself, as I conceive, very much in the style of Junius.

“ Disinterested motives, and an object of public advantage extorted from the Crown, would have rendered the measure illustrious to all posterity; but the motives were selfish, the object was power: this conduct therefore of the Pelhams was

\* *Junius to Mr. Wilkes*, vol. i. p. \*287.

ungrateful towards a Prince ever profitable to them, and factious towards the State, which they never had served either ably or vigilantly, nor meant to serve in this instance: their single aim was to annihilate all rivalship, and establish an unbounded authority over a weak, narrow, sordid, and unfeeling master, who, seated by fortune on a throne, was calculated by nature for a pawnbroker's shop, and was easily reconciled to a set of men willing and able to gratify his low avarice, in his ideas, a sufficient compensation for the sacrifice he made them of his resentments and his prerogative. Hating Mr. Pitt, he preferred him: the ministers, who had hurled back his favours in his face, he restored not only to employment, but to his confidence, and the sole power of three kingdoms: among so great a number, Lord Harrington was the only one he did not forgive, and whom he was permitted to disgrace. Pitt co-operated with the Pelhams in every point, and brought himself to a level with the Earl of Bath in the public disesteem, not more by his votes, than by his hot and unguarded expressions in Parliament; the most indecent of which was, a needless encomium on the late Sir Robert Walpole, reproaching himself for his opposition to him, and professing a veneration for his ashes."

If it should be urged that those bitter invectives against the King with which the Letters of Junius abound, could not have been written by

Glover, because he dedicated his *MEDÆA* to the King, I shall answer, that the dedication was written in the year 1761, immediately after the King's accession to the throne, when it appears that Mr. Glover and Junius perfectly agreed in the bright prospect before them; see Dodington's Diary, page 373. Junius says, "the King found this country in that state of perfect union and happiness which good government naturally produces, and which a bad one has destroyed."<sup>a</sup> "When our gracious Sovereign ascended the throne we were a flourishing people."<sup>b</sup>

"You ascended the throne with a declared, and, I doubt not, a sincere resolution of giving universal satisfaction to your subjects.<sup>c</sup> You found them pleased with the novelty of a young prince, whose countenance promised even more than his words, and loyal to you not only from principle, but passion. It was not a cold profession of allegiance to the first magistrate, but a partial, animated attachment to a favourite prince, the native of their country, They did not wait to examine your conduct, nor to be determined by experience, but gave you a generous credit for

<sup>a</sup> Vol. iii. p. 171.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. i. p. 50.

<sup>c</sup> "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me, I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne." King's Speech, November 18, 1760.

the future blessings of your reign, and paid you in advance the dearest tribute of their affections. Such, Sir, was once the disposition of a people, who now surround your throne with reproaches and complaints.”<sup>a</sup> Added to these testimonies, Glover’s own opinion of kings is sufficiently conclusive.—*Mem.* p. 35.

Glover’s character of the Pelhams is perfectly in unison with the feeling of Junius.

“ March 6, 1754, Mr. Henry Pelham died. He was originally an officer in the army, and a professed gamester; of a narrow mind, and low parts; of an affable dissimulation, and a plausible cunning; false to Sir Robert Walpole, who raised him, and ungrateful to the Earl of Bath, who protected him. By long experience and attendance, he became considerable as a Parliament-man; and, even when Minister, divided his time, to the last, between his office and the club of gamesters at White’s.”<sup>b</sup>

“ The Duke of Newcastle was a man of whom no one ever spoke with cordial regard, of parts and conduct which generally drew animadversions bordering on contempt, of notorious insincerity, political cowardice, and servility to the highest and the lowest; yet, insincere without gall, ambitious without pride, luxurious, jovial, hospitable to all men, of an exorbitant estate, af-

<sup>a</sup> Vol. ii. p. 66.

<sup>b</sup> *Mem.* p. 36.

fable, forgetful of offences, and profuse of his favours indiscriminately to all his adherents; he had established a faction by far the most powerful in this country: hence he derived that influence which encouraged his unworthy pretensions to ministerial power; nor was he less indebted to his experience of a Court, a long practice in all its craft, whence he had acquired a certain art of imposition, that in every negotiation with the most distinguished popular leaders, however superior to himself in understanding, from the instant they began to depart from ingenuous and public principles, he never missed his advantage, nor failed of making them his property at last, and himself their master. Lord Cobham, Chesterfield, the Duke of Bedford, Pitt, and others, found him so in 1743, when he took them into his confederacy to rout the Earl of Bath and Granville. Pitt found him so in 1757, when this new coalition was formed to destroy the Duke of Cumberland and Fox.”<sup>a</sup>

Junius in one of his bitter attacks on the Duke of Grafton, also satirizes the King in a sarcastic allusion to the influence of these two ministers. “His late Majesty, under the happy influence of a family connexion between his Ministers was relieved from the cares of Government.”<sup>b</sup>

Glover’s speech to the Livery of London, on

<sup>a</sup> *Mem.* p. 105.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. i. p. 146.

losing his election for the office of Chamberlain, is animated by the same patriotism, without any party-spirit, which is equally the governing principle of Glover and of Junius. After having stated that he had several times exerted himself in the cause of his fellow citizens at their request, he says, " Permit me now to remind you, that when placed by these means in a light not altogether unfavourable, no lucrative reward was then the object of my pursuit; nor ever did the promises or offers of private emolument induce me to quit my independence, or vary from the least of my former professions, which always were, and remain still founded on the principles of universal liberty; principles which I assume the glory to have established on your records. Your sense, Liverymen of London, the sense of your great corporation, so repeatedly recommended to your representatives in parliament, were my sense, and the principal boast of all my compositions, containing matter imbibed in my earliest education, to which I have always adhered, by which I still abide, and which I will endeavour to bear down with me to the grave, and even at that gloomy period, when deserted by my good fortune, and under the severest trials, even then, by the same consistency of opinions and uniformity of conduct, I still preserved that part of my reputation which I originally derived from your favour, whatever I might pretend to call a



public character, unshaken and unblemished; nor once, in the hour of affliction, did I banish from my thoughts the most sincere and conscientious intention of acquitting every private obligation, as soon as my good fortune should please to return; a distant appearance of which seemed to invite me, and awakened some flattering expectations on the rumoured vacancy of the chamberlain's office; but always apprehending the imputation of presumption, and that a higher degree of delicacy and caution would be requisite in me than in any other candidate, I forbore, till late, to present myself once more to your notice, and then, for the first time, abstracted from a public consideration, solicited your favour for my own private advantage. My want of success shall not prevent my cheerfully congratulating this gentleman<sup>a</sup> on his election, and you, on your choice of so worthy a magistrate, and if I may indulge a hope of departing this place with a share of your approbation and esteem, I solemnly from my heart declare, that I shall not bear away with me the least trace of disappointment."<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sir Thomas Harrison.

<sup>b</sup> In the preliminary part of this address, Glover expresses his acknowledgments to the Livery in general, for their candour, decency, and indulgence. In his Memoir he says, Pitt's "hot and unguarded expressions in parliament, the most *indecent* of which was a needless encomium on the late Sir Robert Walpole." *Mem.* p. 33. These words are frequently used in this sense by Junius, and I do not remember their being used in any other.

*A brief analysis and comparison of the political opinions of Junius and Glover.*

The first great and leading principle of Junius is, that magistrates and the ministers of government should ever be subservient to the laws.<sup>a</sup> To pre-

—“The man I have described would never prostitute his dignity in parliament by an *indecent* violence, either by opposing or defending a minister.” *Junius*, vol. i. p. 235. “But if a case should happen, wherein a character not merely of private virtue but of public merit, receives an insult equally *indecent* and ungrateful, this common concern is increased by that share of interest which every man claims to himself in the public welfare.” *Junius*, vol. iii. p. 80, also vol. i. p. \*272, 59, vol. ii. p. 360, vol. iii p. 59, &c. it is used in the same sense.

<sup>a</sup> The arguments used in defence of the late proceedings of the House of Commons would have a considerable weight with me, if I could persuade myself that the present House of Commons were really in that independent state in which the constitution meant to place them. If I could be satisfied that their resolutions were not previously determined in the king’s cabinet, that no personal resentment was to be gratified, nor any ministerial purpose to be answered, under pretence of asserting their privileges, I own I should be very unwilling to raise or encourage any question between the strict right of the subject, and that discretionary power which our representatives have assumed by degrees, and which, until of late years, they have very seldom abused. While the House of Commons form a real representation of the people, while they preserve their place in the constitution, distinct from the lords, and independent of the crown, I think to contend with them about the limits of their privileges would be contending with ourselves.\* But the question will be materially

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\* The necessity of securing the House of Commons against the king’s power, so that no interruption might be given either to

serve the British Constitution, according to his view of the subject, in its utmost purity, is his whole aim: and his violence against *men* upon all occasions, is solely with a view to destroy their *measures*, when he considered them to be impolitic or unjust. His abuse and invective are governed by this principle; and when he attacks the private vices of men, he adopts that mode, only as an expedient to diminish the baneful effects of their

altered, if it should appear that instead of preserving the due balance of the constitution, they have thrown their whole weight into the same scale with the crown, and that their privileges, instead of forming a barrier against the encroachments of the other branches of the legislature, are made subservient to the views of the sovereign, and employed, under the direction of the minister, in the persecution of individuals, and the oppression of the people. In this case it would be the duty of every honest man to stand strictly to his right;—to question every act of such an House of Commons with jealousy and suspicion, and wherever their pretended privileges trenched upon the known laws of the land, in the minutest instance, to resist them with a determined and scrupulous exactness. To ascertain the fact, we need only consider in what manner parliaments have been managed since his Majesty's accession." *Junius, Vol. iii. Let. 95.*

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the attendance of the members in parliament, or to the freedom of debate, was the foundation of parliamentary privilege; and we may observe in all the addresses of new appointed speakers to the sovereign, the utmost privilege they demand is liberty of speech and freedom from arrests. The very word privilege means no more than immunity, or a safeguard to the party who possesses it, and can never be construed into an active power of invading the rights of others.

public actions.<sup>a</sup> To the Duke of Grafton he declares himself not to have been his *personal* enemy: “If I were personally your enemy, I might pity and forgive you.”<sup>b</sup> And to Mr. Wilkes, he says, —“I have no resentments but against the common enemy.”<sup>c</sup> “I love the cause independent of persons.” “It must be always a part of Junius’s plan to support Mr. Wilkes while *he* makes common cause with the people.”<sup>d</sup>

In pursuing this subject to give force to his political theory, he confesses himself, in some instances, to have overstepped the bounds of correct truth.—“It was necessary to the plan of that letter, to rate you lower than you deserved.”<sup>e</sup> From the same motive he also bestowed praise, if he saw political good to be derived from it:—“I think it good policy to pay these compliments to Lord Chatham.”<sup>f</sup>

To preserve and renovate the Constitution, his favourite theory, in common with Lord Chatham, was to have triennial Parliaments.

With respect to his political creed, in his fifty-

<sup>a</sup> I am here speaking of the professed principle and intention of Junius; how well or ill he executed or manifested his intentions, or how far his own private feelings have heightened or imbibtered his invective, his works before the public will declare for themselves.

<sup>b</sup> Junius, Vol. ii. p. 90. <sup>c</sup> Junius, Vol. i. p. \*334.

<sup>d</sup> Junius, Vol. i. p. \*264. <sup>e</sup> Junius, Vol. i. p. \*314.

<sup>f</sup> Junius, Vol. i. p. \*290.

ninth letter he has very fully and very clearly expressed himself. "I can more readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity, than the sound judgment of any man, who prefers a republican form of government, in this or any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy so qualified and limited as ours. I am convinced, that neither is it in theory the wisest system of government, nor practicable in this country. Yet, though I hope the English Constitution will for ever preserve its original monarchical form, I would have the manners of the people purely and strictly republican.—I do not mean the licentious spirit of anarchy and riot—I mean a general attachment to the common weal, distinct from any partial attachment to persons or families;—an implicit submission to the laws only, and an affection to the magistrate, proportioned to the integrity and wisdom, with which he distributes justice to his people, and administers their affairs."

Throughout the whole of Junius there is a feeling of despondency for the public weal—"I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry are driving this country to destruction."<sup>b</sup> "Commerce languishes, manufactures are oppressed, and public credit already feels her approaching dissolution: yet, under the direction of this council, we are

<sup>a</sup> Junius, Vol. ii. p. 347.

<sup>b</sup> Junius, Vol. iii. p. 202.

to prepare for a dreadful contest with the colonies, and a war with the whole house of Bourbon. I am not surprised that the generality of men should endeavour to shut their eyes to this melancholy prospect.”<sup>a</sup>

Again. “I most truly lament the condition to which we are reduced.”—He had, therefore, as he expresses himself, “no resentments but against the common enemy.” The same feelings characterize these Memoirs. The administration of Lord Chatham, then Mr. Pitt, “was the only means left to save a ruined nation. Calamitous events have set Mr. Pitt in his present high point of light.” And again, “calamity perhaps is not very distant from us;” and the details which he has entered into in these Memoirs, “are only to delineate with accuracy the causes of this nation’s fall,” which to the author’s ill-boding judgment, appeared to be inevitable. And though he had intimacies to a degree of friendship with the most distinguished politicians of his time, yet those intimacies were contracted on the public account, that when his principles were deserted by them, their society was abandoned by him.<sup>b</sup>

Junius says, “I should scorn to provide for a future retreat, or to keep terms with a man who preserves no measures with the public.”<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Junius, Vol. iii. p. 176.

<sup>b</sup> Mem. p. 33.

<sup>c</sup> Junius, Vol. ii. p. 91.

Glover valued himself on his knowledge of finance, and every year calculates the national debt. Junius in his letter, dated Aug. 19, 1768, setting forth the decay of trade and the insecurity of the funds, states the national debt to be forty-six millions, in the year 1740; this date corresponds to the commencement of Glover's active political life; and it is remarkable that when Mr. Glover died he had no money in the funds, although he had property of every other description, to the amount of forty or fifty thousand pounds.<sup>a</sup>

Glover's declamation breathes the same feeling as that of Junius, and is of the same character, allowing for the difference of mere narrative composition in the closet, and the full and unbounded flood of indignant invective studiously polished, to fix and command public attention.—“When the measure of popular vices and follies is full, and co-operating with selfish and ambitious rulers, renders a nation contemptible, an honest individual who can assuage his aching heart with

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Glover had money upon mortgage and bond, in land, and houses, freehold and copyhold, in the city of London, in Buckinghamshire, and in Kent, where he possessed the Manor of Downe. He had also lands in South Carolina, being a joint proprietor with two persons of the name of Bourdieu and Chollet, his particular friends, his proportion being as he expresses it himself, one undivided third share. *Vide the Will in Doctors' Commons.*

indifference, may stand justified not less to his own conscience, than to the unmeriting herd." <sup>a</sup>

Junius. "I am filled with grief and indignation, when I behold a wise and gallant people lost in a stupidity, which does not feel, because it will not look forward. The voice of one man will hardly be heard when the voice of truth and reason is neglected; but as far as mine extends, the authors of our ruin shall be marked out to the public; I will not tamely submit to be sacrificed, nor shall this country perish without warning." <sup>b</sup>

Again. "At a crisis like this, Sir, I shall not be very solicitous about these idle forms of respect which men in office think due to their characters and station; neither will I descend to a language beneath the importance of the subject I write on. When the fate of Great Britain is thrown upon the hazard of a die, by a weak, distracted, worthless ministry, an honest man will always express all the indignation he feels." <sup>c</sup>

Junius wrote neither for profit nor for fame, he never deserted his principles, and was accounted a dangerous auxiliary to every party in the kingdom; <sup>d</sup> and addressing himself to Mr. Wilkes, he says, "I have faithfully served the public, without the possibility of a personal advantage." And in a private letter to Mr. Woodfall—"In the

<sup>a</sup> Mem. p. 41.

<sup>b</sup> Junius, Vol. iii. p. 176.

<sup>c</sup> Junius, Vol. iii. p. 74.

<sup>d</sup> Junius, Vol. ii. p. 205.



present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city. I mean the cause and the public. Both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it, who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile and contemptible."<sup>a</sup>

This is in the same temper of mind as Glover represents himself in the Memoir: "I conceive less hopes of our present opposition than I did; nor am I too severe in my judgment of men. When I use the word hope, I would not be understood to mean that I expect any great benefit to my country from this or any opposition; but I had a better opinion of some people than I have just now."<sup>b</sup> With Glover it was always a subject of the highest commendation when any man kept steady to his principles; and in praising Waller, he says, "hitherto, no man can say but that he had continued in opposition to all the enemies of his country with perseverance and zeal."<sup>c</sup>

Junius also declares himself to have dedicated

<sup>a</sup> Junius, Vol. i. p. \*255.

<sup>b</sup> Mem. p. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Mem. p. 13.

<sup>d</sup> "A man, who honestly engages in a public cause, must prepare himself for events which will at once demand his utmost patience, and rouse his warmest indignation." Junius, Vol. i. p. \*276.

his life to the information of his fellow subjects. Glover took an active part in politics as early as the year 1739, and did not cease to direct his attention to that object during his whole life; and whether his political opinions were well or ill founded, he invariably adhered to them, believing them to be right.

He was intimate with Pitt, which intimacy had commenced with their youth, and had continued for no inconsiderable part of their lives; but Glover acknowledges himself to have an unbending character: "It was now twelve years at least since my own reserved behaviour and unpliant principles had kept me remote from this my once intimate and most favoured society."<sup>a</sup> After this interval, he says, "The neglect and indifference on my side for the last twelve years seemed to have made no impression on him; and the remembrance of his frailties, which had created my former disgust, was lost in the expectation which all men conceived from his altered principles and conduct."<sup>c</sup>

Of kings, though necessary to the constitution and form of government Junius was attached to, he laid this down as a fundamental maxim—"The fortune which makes a man a king, forbids him to have a friend. It is the law of nature which

<sup>a</sup> Vol. ii. p. 307.      <sup>b</sup> Mem. p. 64.

<sup>c</sup> Mem. p. 85.

cannot be violated with impunity. The mistaken prince who looks for friendship, will find a favourite, and in that favourite the ruin of his affairs.”<sup>a</sup> And after the most bitter and reiterated abuse of his present majesty, he says, “I would willingly hazard my life in defence of your title and your crown.”<sup>a</sup>

Against kings Glover, in his memoirs, is equally unsparing of his censure, and unmindful of the mode of enforcing his invective. “George II. is a weak, narrow, sordid, and unfeeling master, only calculated by nature for a pawnbroker’s shop;” and again, “he should be made sensible, not only that he should not be master, but that he should know and feel that he ought not to be so.” The King of Prussia is *a fiend*: and of Princes in general, “their actions are not to be judged of by the rules of morality, before whose tribunal they would be all condemned in their turns, and undergo the severest punishment, if executioners were not wanting to the laws of nature and of justice; and the folly and servility of mankind were not the safeguard of Kings.”

<sup>a</sup> Junius, Vol. ii. p. 88.

..... “Look undazzled on the pomp of man  
Most weak, when highest. Then the jealous gods  
Watch to supplant him. They, his paths, his courts,  
His chambers fill with flatt’ry’s pois’nous swarms,  
Whose honey’d bane, by kingly pride devour’d,  
Consumes the health of kingdoms.”

Glover's *Leonidas*, Book IV.

As an illustration of the character of Glover's mind with respect to his best friends when they departed from their political principles, I cannot give a stronger instance than in the case of Lord Cobham. A Nobleman who was not only conspicuous as a statesman and a patron of literature, but a sincere friend of Glover's, and a great admirer of his genius. To this nobleman Glover dedicated his *Leonidas* in these words:

"I shall now detain the reader no longer than to take this public occasion of expressing my sincere regard for the Lord Viscount Cobham, and the sense of my obligations for the early honour of his friendship; to him I inscribe the following poem, and therein I shall be justified, independent of all personal motives from his Lordship's public conduct, so highly distinguished by his disinterested zeal, and unshaken fidelity to his country, not less in civil life, than in the field: to him therefore a poem, founded on a character eminent for military glory, and love of liberty, is due from the nature of the subject."

When the interests of the party to which Lord Cobham belonged were divided, he was provoked at the infamous conduct of those who had left him in the minority, and had thoughts of withdrawing himself, declaring, with an oath, that he would have no further concern with them. Upon which, Glover makes these remarks: "But his resolution did not hold: the truth is, that Lord

Cobham, Dodington, and Cotton, had too much sense not to see the weakness of Pelham, of which they were sincerely desirous to make an advantage, so far as might serve to bring them into power with some degree of character; and this they very well knew could never be accomplished without obtaining some terms for the people; but at the same time it was always evident to me, who knew them during the whole course of their opposition, long before they accepted of employments, and their subsequent conduct has rendered it notorious to all mankind, that their first regard was to profit and power, that their second was to character, and much fainter than the first; and that their care for the public extended no further than to preserve some part of their former popularity for a varnish to their avarice and ambition." <sup>a</sup>

I mention these facts respecting Lord Cobham, as the more important, because the virulent opinion which Junius entertains against Lord Townshend would seem to be incompatible with Glover's previous commendation of him, were his principles not duly weighed and considered; but it must be ever borne in mind, that Glover's opinion of men, throughout his whole life, was governed by the consistency of their political conduct; and even in the character of Lord Townshend, in the Memoir, he concludes with a gloomy prospective view, that he may have, at some

<sup>a</sup> Mem. p. 25, 26.

future time, occasion to alter it. "May time, which impairs every external grace, produce no such change in his virtues, as may ever throw upon my pen the melancholy obligation of altering this character."<sup>a</sup>

In this analysis there is nothing more remarkable than the coincidence of feeling and opinion exhibited by Mr. Glover of Lord Chatham, and the portrait of the same statesman as exhibited throughout the letters of Junius. Glover admired his talents, and seemed perfectly well to understand their force and influence; at times, strongly attached to his measures, but at other times, doubts of his sincerity, and censures what he considers a dereliction of principle; and for twelve years he withdrew himself from his intimacy from political principles alone.<sup>b</sup> His first co-operation with the Pelhams in 1745 is marked by his disapprobation: "Pitt co-operated with the Pelhams in every point, and brought himself to a level with the Earl of Bath in the public disesteem, not more by his votes than by his hot or unguarded expressions in parliament; the most indecent of which was, a needless encomium on the late Sir Robert Walpole, reproaching himself for his opposition to him, and professing a veneration for his ashes." His advice against any union with the Duke of Newcastle is strongly characteristic

<sup>a</sup> Mem. p. 53.

<sup>b</sup> Mem. p. 85.

of his feelings; and these lines from Horace are in the true spirit of Junius—

Justum et tenacem propositi virum

Non civium ardor prava jubentium,

Non vultus instantis tyranni,

Mente quatit solidâ

and with the deepest regret of a noble mind he concludes by saying, that if there should be a coalition, it would grieve him to see the first man in Great Britain a subaltern to the lowest.\*

After Mr. Pitt's repeated professions that he would never consent to send any British troops to Germany, he at last found good reasons to yield to the politics of the king. This was in the latter end of the year 1757; upon which Glover thus expresses himself—

“With such persevering firmness could this minister act at a period when the British Parliament had bound itself by repeated addresses to defend the King's Electoral Dominions; yet, when the Electorate had absolved these kingdoms from that obligation, and by a convention of its own, without any British interposition, had detached itself from Great Britain or Prussia; this very minister, abusing the confidence of a credulous people, plunged them into an expence of blood and treasure unknown to former experience, and beyond the designs, even the ideas of the

most corrupt and daring, whom he has so frequently, and recently confronted upon the subject of continental systems. He was the man on whom the public once depended as a check to such ruinous attempts: he was the man who sacrificed that public for the precarious favour of an insincere unforgiving old man, tottering on the verge of the grave. Troops could be withheld from the Duke of Cumberland: his success would be strength to Fox. A proposition from the Duke of Newcastle would be opposed for that purpose: Newcastle would have had all the merit; and he will have it; and my prophecy to Mr. Pitt in these words, be verified, "Then shall I be grieved to see you, the first man in Great Britain at this juncture, become a subaltern to the lowest."

Pitt in 1744 "lost all the confidence of his friends," by voting with the court party; and appears to have lost Glover's good opinion by joining the junta to get into place, and was one of those of whom he says, "that their first regard was to profit and power, and that their second was to character, and much fainter than the first;" and he who had been among the loud declaimers to bring Lord Orford to justice, now disgraced himself by an *indecent and needless* encomium on Sir Robert Walpole." This unsteadiness of principle so disgusted Glover, that when they deserted their principles, he abandoned their society, and his intimacies were thus



contracted on the public account. Pitt returning to office, on true Whig principles, Glover says, "All his past offences were buried in oblivion. The love of power and an ardent thirst of fame were noble passions—honourable to him and beneficial to his country, when their views were set in comparison with those which accompany the base attachment to money, the visible bane of our times." When Pitt afterwards negotiated for a coalition with the Duke of Newcastle, Glover, was again disgusted. And even when he speaks of the independence of his actions, he does it with the caution of Junius. When Pitt opposed the intemperate party-rage against Byng, Glover praising the moderation of his conduct, says, it was untinged with selfishness, *wearing the aspect* at least of justice and humanity.

In the letters of Junius there is the same admiration of his powers, and the same sentiment of disesteem, when he made his great abilities subservient to measures which he disapproved. "He (Lord Chatham) is indeed a compound of contradictions." "I cannot admit that because Mr. Pitt was respected and honoured a few years ago, the Earl of Chatham therefore deserves to be so now; or that a description, which might have suited him at one part of his life, must of necessity be the only one applicable to him at another. It is barely possible that a very honest commoner may

\* Junius, Vol. iii. p. 108.

become a very corrupt and worthless peer; and I am inclined to suspect that Mr. C. D. will find but few people credulous enough to believe that either Mr. Pitt or Mr. Pulteney, when they accepted of a title, did not, by that action, betray their friends, their country, and in every honourable sense, themselves.”<sup>a</sup>

In a virulent invective against Lord Bute, he says, “It was then his good fortune to corrupt one man, from whom we least of all expected so base an apostacy. Who indeed could have suspected, that it should ever consist with the spirit or understanding of that person to accept of a share of power under a pernicious court minion, whom he himself had affected to detest or despise, as much as he knew he was detested and despised by the whole nation? I will not censure him for the avarice of a pension, nor the melancholy ambition of a title. These were objects which he perhaps looked up to, though the rest of the world thought them far beneath his acceptance.”<sup>b</sup>

Junius says in his letter to Wilkes, speaking of Lord Chatham, “I have no objection to paying him such compliments as carry a condition with them, and either bind him firmly to the cause, or become the bitterest reproach to him if he deserts it.”

<sup>a</sup> Junius, Vol. ii. p. 461.

<sup>b</sup> Junius, Vol. ii. p. 466.

His celebrated panegyric is guarded by expressions, which seem to glance at a comprehensive view of his political life, and his praise is even tempered with a wary knowledge of his character.—“ I confess he has grown upon my esteem.” “ As for the common sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of Junius would be of service to Lord Chatham; but *if* his ambition be upon a level with his understanding; *if* he judges of what is truly honourable *for himself*, with the same superior genius which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of Junius shall continue to reward him.”<sup>a</sup>

It has been remarked that Junius, in many instances, has the appearance of being conversant in military affairs, and this opinion has been considered of some weight by those who support the pretensions of Lord George Sackville. As Mr. Glover once intended to publish the memoirs of his own time, he did not fail to associate with military men, and to derive from them all the knowledge which he might require on that subject. By Townshend he was supplied with the most authentic information as to all the military transactions in America, in which he had a command. And his Memoir contains a succinct though comprehensive view of the seven years

<sup>a</sup> Junius, Vol. II. p. 310.

war, which sufficiently accounts for whatever of a military air some of the letters of Junius may exhibit.

As, in many of the letters of Junius, there is a smattering of legal knowledge, independent of his celebrated letter to Lord Mansfield, on bail, on the importance of which, there are different opinions, as to the legal pretensions of the author,<sup>a</sup> it may be mentioned as a biographical fact, that Glover's maternal uncle was a Lord Chancellor of Ireland,<sup>b</sup> and that he was himself

<sup>a</sup> "The power of the King, Lords, and Commons, is not an arbitrary power. They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate." The fee simple is in US. This *legal* opinion does not strengthen the belief that Junius was an eminent lawyer by profession.—*Junius*, Vol. i. p. 5.—*Dedication to his letters*.

<sup>b</sup> The Right Hon. Richard West, was the eldest son of Richard West, a merchant of the city of London, or perhaps, as he more correctly styles himself, heir apparent. He entered a student of the Inner Temple, June 23, 1708, and died 1727, at 36 years of age, leaving an only son, Richard, well known as an elegant scholar and poet, and the familiar associate of Horace Walpole and Gray.

Richard Glover, the surviving son of Leonidas Glover, presented a portrait of this lord chancellor West, to the Inner Temple, where it now is in the Hall, with this inscription on a tablet making a part of the frame—

" THE PORTRAIT OF THE RIGHT HON. RICHARD WEST,  
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND.

He was the maternal uncle of the late Richard Glover Esq. who represented the borough of Weymouth, in Parliament; the father of Richard Glover, Esq. member for Penryn, who has the honour to present it to the society of the Inner Temple, where his Lordship

originally intended for the profession of the law. These circumstances may have had some influence on his subsequent education and habits of study, and in his Memoir there are instances which favour this opinion.<sup>a</sup>

It is remarkable that there is no life of Mr. Glover, except a short account of him which appeared soon after his death, in the *European Magazine*, for Jan. 1786, written by Mr. Isaac Reed, to which is appended a panegyric, by Dr. Brocklesby, Mr. Glover's intimate friend. This account has been reprinted by Mr. Alexander Chalmers in his edition of the *English Poets*, 1810, and augmented, principally, by a more ample criticism of Mr. Glover's Poems, and some facts respecting him, derived from Dr. Warton. But the character of the man, as an individual, or as a politician, have now passed into oblivion.

studied and qualified himself for that distinguished station, which he afterwards attained.

“ His Lordship was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in the reign of George the First, in 1725 ; he died holding that high office but two years, at the early age of 36, in the year 1727.”

This Lord Chancellor wrote on treasons and bills of attainder, and also on the manner of creating peers.

<sup>a</sup> See ADDENDA, p. 93.

*That the resemblance of thought and expression in the Memoir to the Letters of Junius, may be presented to the reader at one view, the following extracts are selected as the most remarkable.*

Glover speaking of the Duke of Argyle, says, that “ he was in his own person a most shameless prostitute to power, and extremely avaricious: he indeed would sell nothing, but himself, which he continually did with every circumstance of levity, weakness, and even treachery.”

In his letter to Lord Chesterfield; which concludes thus—

“ And all this time you are wasting away in so fruitless a manner, France runs no risque, &c. Then, what step must England take next, in a condition so much weaker and more exhausted than before? Then, my Lord, consider at whose door will the unpopularity of this measure fall?”<sup>a</sup>

“ During the course of this year 1744, the leaders of the opposition who had differed among themselves so widely the year before, were now once more re-united upon one principle, which was, to get into place.”

In this year when Pelham offered to concur with the opposition in a more effectual place-bill, Glover makes these reflections upon his conduct, as the opinion of Waller and himself.

<sup>a</sup> Mem. p. 15.

"Waller ascribed this condescension to very notorious and obvious reasons, incapacity, and pusillanimity; not that his mean heart entertained the least spark of compunction for the public, but merely that he might sit easy in power, and shelter his inability against the weight of Waller's talents and experience, the virulent eloquence of Pitt, the party strength of Gower and Cotton among the tories, the keen and lively parts of Cobham, and the industry and social arts of Dodington; all which, united upon honest and disinterested views for their country, must have speedily rendered the opposition not only formidable, but dangerous to Pelham: such, however, was the prostitution of Bedford,<sup>a</sup> Chesterfield,

<sup>a</sup> *Prostitution of Bedford.* Junius, in describing what this Duke of Bedford ought to be, says, "Your Grace may probably discover something more intelligible in the negative part of this illustrious character. The man I have described would never *prostitute* his dignity in parliament by an indecent violence, either in opposing or defending a minister." Junius, Vol. I. p. 235.

*Prostitution* is a favourite word with Junius, and it is used in the same sense, with the same feeling, in the Memoir. "Lord Hardwicke, masking his own *prostitution* and servility under religious cant and hypocrisy." Mem. p. 55. If he (the King) has any regard for his own honour, he will disdain to be any longer connected with such abandoned *prostitution*. Junius, Vol. II. p. 220. "There are degrees in all private vices.—Why not in public *prostitution*?"—Does it follow, that every House of Commons will plunge at once into the lowest depths of *prostitution*? Vol. II. p. 223. "There is no act of arbitrary power which the

Gower, Pitt, and Lyttelton, a party founded on the base desire of pecuniary emoluments, partly on the more extensive views of procuring the whole ministerial power to themselves, that they peremptorily insisted on coming into employment without any stipulations whatever.”\*

king might not attribute to necessity, and for which he would not be secure of obtaining the approbation of his *prostituted* lords and commons.” Vol. II. p. 362. Glover says, “but that merit so endearing to Mr. Viner and his friends, served but to weaken Mr. Pitt still more with the court and its *prostituted* instruments the two houses of parliament.” “I protest, my Lord, there is in this young man’s conduct (the King) a strain of *prostitution*, which, for its singularity, I cannot but admire.” Vol. II. p. 155. “The present House of Commons have injured themselves by a too early and public profession of their principles, and if a strain of *prostitution*, which had no example, were within the reach of emulation, it might be imprudent to hazard the experiment too soon.” Vol. II. p. 211. “He (the King) thought he had found a creature *prostituted* to his service.” Vol. I. p. 147. Glover says, the Duke of Argyle “was in his own person a most shameless *prostitute* to power.” Mem. p. 9. Glover exerted all his power and influence in 1739, to prevent Sir George Champion succeeding to the Mayoralty of the City, and his exertions were attended with success; Junius was equally interested to set aside Nash in 1771. “The shameful mismanagement, which brought him into office, gave me the first and unconquerable disgust What an abandoned *prostituted* idiot is your Lord Mayor.” Junius, Vol. I. p. \*250.

Glover says, “I must here observe, that if any one of these five may be distinguished from the rest as the most *prostitute* and eager to get into power and employment, it was the Earl of Chesterfield.” Mem. p. 24.

\* Mem. p. 24.



“Waller was ever averse to this negotiation, having no confidence in Pelham, despising his narrow understanding and abject spirit, and detesting his mean equivocating temper.”<sup>b</sup>

“When the situation of Ministers, in 1745, made it necessary for the king to give Mr. Pitt an appointment, Glover says, “Disinterested motives, and an object of public advantage extorted from the Crown, would have rendered the measure illustrious to all posterity; but the motives were selfish, the object was power: this conduct therefore of the Pelhams was ungrateful towards a Prince ever profitable to them, and factious towards the State, which they never had served either ably or vigilantly, nor meant to serve in this instance: their single aim was to annihilate all rivalship, and establish an unbounded authority over a weak, narrow, sordid, and unfeeling master, who, seated by fortune on a throne, was calculated by nature for a pawnbroker’s shop, and was easily reconciled to a set of men willing and able to gratify his low avarice; in his ideas, a sufficient compensation for the sacrifice he made them, of his resentments, and his prerogative. Hating Mr. Pitt, he preferred him: the ministers, who had hurled back his favours in his face, he restored not only to employment, but to his confidence, and the sole power of three kingdoms: among so great a number, Lord Harrington was the only

<sup>b</sup> Mem. p. 18.

one he did not forgive, and whom he was permitted to disgrace. Pitt co-operated with the Pelhams in every point, and brought himself to a level<sup>a</sup> with the Earl of Bath in the public disesteem, not more by his votes, than by his hot and unguarded expressions in Parliament; the most indecent of which was, a needless encomium on the late Sir Robert Walpole, reproaching himself for his opposition to him, and professing a veneration for his ashes.

“ I write, as I think; I deliver facts as they fall under my own observation; my reflections are dispassionate, thus far at least, that I have conceived no prejudice against any person named in these Memorials, from any disobligation to myself; far otherwise; I had intimacies to a degree of friendship with most of them; but as those intimacies were contracted on the public account, when that cause was deserted by them, their society was abandoned by me.”<sup>b</sup>

When France was invaded by the King of Prussia. “ France in distress, bribes the King of Prussia, who, in defiance of the late treaty of Breslaw, invades the Austrian dominions a second time, commits the most inhuman acts of devasta-

<sup>a</sup> “ The ministry indeed have no share in the change, and it would be uncandid not to confess that their regard for the honour and interest of this country is upon the same *level* with their friendship for Mr. Grenville.” *Junius*, Vol. iii. p. 84.

<sup>b</sup> Mem. p. 32.

tion, compels the Queen to recall her army for her own protection, and thus relieves, if not preserves, the inveterate foe of Europe. I judge not of princes by the rules of morality, before whose tribunal they would all be condemned in their turns, and undergo the severest punishment, if executioners were not wanting to the laws of nature and of justice, and the folly and servility of mankind were not the safeguards of kings. I make this reflection, as I pass, merely for its truth. The indignation and hatred of the King and people of England, survived in abuse and execrations on the King of Prussia, till 1755; when, on a sudden, that fiend became the brightest of beings, and the admired Queen of Hungary detestable; yet the truth of my reflections remains, in this case, on as permanent foundations as before."<sup>a</sup>

"I am now in the 46th year of my age; the ardour of youth is abated; the mind grown stronger by experience, familiar with ill-fortune both to myself and my country, guarded against the delusion of popularity, and above the pride resulting from the occasional countenance and *unsought* confidence of men in high station, of which I propose to make no further use, than to delineate with accuracy and truth the causes of this nation's fall, which my ill-boding judgment foresees to be inevitable.

<sup>a</sup> Mem. p. 35.

“To paint folly in the various shades and colours of hope and fear, of exultation, dejection, resentment, and rage, in a vain, dissolute, and refractory people, presuming still on an imaginary superiority, yet obstinately blind to its own defects and weakness; to describe subjects without subordination, laws uninforced, magistrates without authority, fleets and armies without discipline in the midst of an unsuccessful war; to set forth the supineness of an effeminate gentry, the corruption of a servile and dependant senate, the ignorance, incapacity, timidity, rashness, pride, and ambition, holding sway by turns at some periods, at others jarring and encountering to the utter confusion of Administration, under a doting, mean, spiritless, covetous, prejudiced, undiscerning Prince, whose decisions, like those of chaos, serve but to embroil the fray; to display a scene of this nature, and know it to be a representation of the land one inhabits, at the same time to exhibit truth pure and untinctured by passion, requires that unconcern which despair alone can produce in the human mind. It is enough to have lamented, and beyond the means of a private station, to have opposed the impending calamity; when the measure of popular vices and follies is full, and co-operating with selfish and ambitious rulers renders a nation contemptible, an honest individual who can assuage his aching heart with

indifference, may stand justified not less to his own conscience, than to the unmeriting herd.”<sup>a</sup>

“The King and his Minister only were pacific, not through knowledge and judgment, but from perplexity and cowardice. The same unmanly spirit, which preferring peace through fear, could be hurried by the public impetuosity into a war, must naturally begin and conduct it with irresolution and tameness.”<sup>b</sup>

“I met Mr. Pitt at Mr. Dodington’s; the Grenville’s his relations, whom I had long known, full of family disgusts against him, now repaired to his house after an interval of many years: and had his nature been capable of consistency, and common prudence directed his only pursuit, a *profitable place*, he might with their support and foundation, his own social accomplishments, wit, plausibility, literature, and long experience in the forms of public business, have stood an eminent character in times like these, so destitute of great men. All these qualifications, with the addition of elegance, magnificence and wealth, wanting judgment and discretion, could not protect his old age from ridicule and neglect. So necessary is firmness and uniformity of conduct, to procure even from the imperfect part of mankind, the

<sup>a</sup> Mem. p. 39—41.

<sup>b</sup> Mem. p. 43.

confidence requisite to maintain the unworthy pre-eminence among them.”<sup>a</sup>

“During the whole sessions Mr. Pitt found occasion in every debate to confound the ministerial orators; his vehement invectives were awful to Murray, terrible to Hume Campbell; and no malefactor under the stripes of an executioner was ever more forlorn and helpless than Fox appeared under the lash of Pitt’s eloquence, shrewd and able in Parliament as he confessedly is: Dodington sheltered himself in silence.”<sup>b</sup>

When Mr. Pitt was taken into Administration the second time.

“The eyes of an afflicted, despairing nation were now lifted up to a private gentleman of a slender fortune, wanting the parade<sup>c</sup> of birth or title, of no family alliance, but by his marriage with Lord Temple’s sister, and even confined to a narrow circle of friends and acquaintance. Under these circumstances Pitt was considered as the only saviour of England. True was it, that in the lucrative office of paymaster to the army his conduct had been clear and disinterested. All past offences were buried in oblivion. The love of power, and an ardent thirst for fame, were noble passions, honourable to him, and beneficial to his

<sup>a</sup> Mem. p. 48.

<sup>b</sup> Mem. p. 51.

<sup>c</sup> Junius speaks with this same feeling of title and rank, see Vol. i. p. \*290, and \*320, Vol. iii. p. 317.

country, when their views were set in comparison with those which accompany the base attachment to money, the visible bane of our times. His good sense and spirit must surely discover, that neither power, nor fame, can be permanent without the foundation of virtue. His friends and relations shared in the public prepossession, the public overlooking their imperfections, and zealously promulgating their good qualities. Riot and intemperance, or the dissipation of time in idle pleasures, composed no part of their characters. Under Pitt they must be capable and useful in public employment.”<sup>a</sup>

Of Mr. Pitt’s administration great expectations were formed.

“The Prince of Wales and his Court, the powerful City of London, the majority of the Clergy, Law and Army, together with the whole populace, cordially and full of hope, co-operated in this signal event.

“The only discontented, were the King and both Houses of Parliament; the first grossly retaining his ancient prejudices, the two last dreading a change, which might lessen the price of corruption.”<sup>b</sup>

In the case of Admiral Byng, Mr. Pitt, in the

<sup>a</sup> Mem. p. 62.

<sup>b</sup> Mem. p. 72.

House of Commons, said, that he desired justice might be done with due deliberation.

“ This modest use of a privilege common to all, thinking for himself, and thus producing his thoughts, at once threw down the image of public adoration, polluted and defaced by the despicable hands which had raised it : Pitt became hateful to the people of Great Britain, like Anson, like Fox, or Byng.”<sup>a</sup>

“ The whole concluded in the criminal’s<sup>b</sup> execution. His trial is in print. Whether it furnishes evidence to prove the cowardice of which he stands acquitted in his sentence, or the negligence for which he is condemned by implication, or whether his not having done his utmost, simply and independently of any criminal motive assigned, be a capital offence existing in the law, or merely in the empty heads of his judges, are points which I leave to the decision of unprejudiced posterity.

“ On the 14th of March Byng was shot, memorable only in his fall ; innocent or guilty, equally the occasion of dishonour to his countrymen ; whether we consider their intemperate rage, artificially fomented by the more guilty against him, unheard and untried, or their more unmanly and petulant levity towards Pitt, for an act of moderation untinged with selfishness, and wearing

<sup>a</sup> Mem. p. 81.

<sup>b</sup> Admiral Byng.



the aspect at least of justice and humanity. It is to shew so strong an instance of a fickle and worthless people, that I have dwelt so long on this subject.”<sup>a</sup>

“Supposing Newcastle sincere, is his composition stern enough for such encounters? But, knowing him false, selfish, and insatiable of power, will he not rather make his own way, and re-establish himself in the King’s favour by every servile gratification of his will? Then shall I be grieved to see you, the first man in Great Britain, at this juncture, become a subaltern to the lowest. Sir, you are governed by a noble principle, the love of fame; do not hazard that glorious acquisition on such precarious ground. As you are the only object in the nation’s eye, every wrong measure, every miscarriage will be imputed to you. You may say you can but quit your situation again: true; but are you sure of returning to the same situation of character and importance which you now possess? Necessity brought you in, the last time; you soon found there was no raising an edifice without materials; the materials cannot exist, till calamity has utterly changed the temper, manners, and principles of the whole nation.”<sup>b</sup>

“Fox, sinking under the weight of national calamity and universal indignation, resigned his employment. The Duke of Newcastle, the most

<sup>a</sup> Mem. p. 82.

<sup>b</sup> Mem. p. 87.

trifling and incapable, yet of all men the most ambitious, struggling to the last for the continuance of power, offers the seals first to Lord Halifax, then to the Earl of Egmont. Them, he finds as averse to enter a falling edifice as Fox was to remain there. At length he applied to Pitt through the channel of Lord Hardwicke, who presents a *carte blanche* for the admission of him and his friends into the highest employments of State under the Duke. Pitt, with a haughtiness confounding the meanness of Hardwicke, rejects the proposition, and disdains all union of actions or counsels with Newcastle. Thus driven to despair, that Minister resigns his employments likewise, leaving his master naked and helpless like himself.”<sup>a</sup>

To these quotations may be added the following extracts in chronological order, from documents, printed by Mr. Glover himself, by which the uniform character of his mind may be seen for upwards of thirty years, and that character in the spirit of Junius.

*Before the House of Commons in behalf of the Merchants of London, he thus addresses himself to the Speaker.*

“SIR,  
1742.           After the many grievances already  
enumerated, to tell the Committee that

<sup>a</sup> Mem. p. 60.

the heaviest is yet behind, will perhaps awaken their astonishment, and, I humbly hope, bespeak their patience a little longer. However considerable, however meritorious to the public the mercantile interest of Great Britain may appear at this bar; whatever degree of indulgence and regard the merchants may have found from this great assembly, in other places they have severely experienced that they were deemed unworthy of the public concern: their complaints have been received with indifference, and their misfortunes imbibited with insult and scorn.—

“Have public representations been made from our Northern Colonies, that their coast was neglected and defenceless? was the least remedy applied to the evil? or does it appear that the commanders, the most notoriously guilty of neglect, have met with the least rebuke? Has murder been committed in the arbitrary impressing of men, the law violated, and the civil magistrate set at defiance? Was a regular complaint preferred against this proceeding? What reparation has been made? or in what manner has justice been satisfied? The law underwent a second violation from the military power, the murderers were acquitted by a mock trial in a court-martial, who might have been condemned in a court of justice, and are at this hour liable to be tried for wilful murder.”

*Addressing the Livery of London.*

1751. "Permit me now to remind you, that when placed by these means in a light not altogether unfavourable, no lucrative reward was then the object of my pursuit; nor ever did the promises or offers of private emolument induce me to quit my independence, or vary from the least of my former professions, which always were, and remain still founded on the principles of universal liberty; principles which I assume the glory to have established on your records. Your sense, Liverymen of London, the sense of your great corporation, so repeatedly recommended to your representatives in parliament, were my sense, and the principal boast of all my compositions, containing matter imbibed in my earliest education, to which I have always adhered, by which I still abide, and which I will endeavour to bear down with me to the grave.

*On the impolicy of direct taxation in America, before the House of Commons, addressing the Speaker.*

1775. "SIR, I foresee, these differences with America will be composed, and how—Here, silence becomes me best.—It will be so late, that Great Britain must receive a wound, which no time can heal—A philosophical sense of dignity must step in under the shape of consolation."

In the course of this investigation I have not thought it necessary to increase my pamphlet by

quotations from Glover's epic and dramatic poems, as they are in the hands of every one; and those who are interested in this question may with the greatest facility refer to such passages as are favourable or adverse to the present hypothesis.<sup>a</sup>— Although I have only produced presumptive evidence that the author of the *Memoirs* was the same person known under the signature of Junius; I have at least described a person who at once had the information requisite for such a character, the tone of feeling, the political opinions, and the power of expressing those opinions, together with the necessary locality of Junius: and whatever may be the result of this inquiry, I trust it will be obvious, that hitherto no pains has been taken to discover the real author, when such a man as Glover, quite independent of the *Memoir*, has never been named. A man who through the whole of an active life was deemed by the Tories an enthusiastic patriot, and never swerved from his principles. In the year 1739 he was the most popular man in the city, and by his influence, zeal, and eloquence, Sir George Champion was set aside from succeeding to the mayoralty. (Junius was not less interested to set Alderman Nash aside in 1771.)

<sup>a</sup> A tyrant humbled, and by virtue's death  
To seal my country's freedom, is a good  
Surpassing all his boasted pow'r can give.

*Glover's Leonidas.*

Such passages might be quoted at the pleasure of the reader.

In the year 1745, Horace Walpole, writing to Lord H. Seymour Conway, sneers at Glover's city eloquence:—"I can't but think we were at least as happy and as great when all the young Pitts and Lytteltons were pelting oratory at my father for rolling out a twenty years peace, and not envying the trophies which he passed by every day in Westminster Hall. But one must not repine; rather reflect on the glories which they have drove the nation headlong into. One must think all our distresses and dangers well laid out when they have purchased us Glover's oration for the merchants; the Admiralty for the Duke of Bedford; and the reversion of secretary at war for Pitt." In the year 1754 Davies, when speaking of his Boadicea, says of the author, "But his poetical fame, though great, was inferior to his character as a patriot and a true lover of his country." In the year 1760, Dodington speaks with anxious interest, that he may be attached to his party. "Glover has not determined about political connexions, but, I believe, he will come to us." From 1761 to 1768 he was in Parliament, always steady to his principles; and is said to have made some eloquent speeches in the House. In 1773 Mr. Woodfall declared to Junius that he knew only one man who could influence his vote, and that was Mr. Glover: and in the year 1775 he was seen at the Bar of the House of Commons, holding the same language and opinions, and exerting himself with the same zeal as

had marked his progress through every stage of his political life.

With respect to the Memoir and the Letters of Junius, what is most strikingly remarkable between them, is the intellectual character which both exhibit, being purely the result of self conviction; not biassed by the prejudices, not influenced by the predilections of others. There is throughout the whole of these works the solitary feeling of a man wrapped up in the perfect confidence of himself, wholly trusting to his own resources, unmindful of opinion, and regardless of every consideration but the independent principles of his own mind. Junius proclaims his thoughts from an unknown obscurity, and gives them the unbounded force of invective declamation; Glover writes the same thoughts to unburthen his mind in the closet, and they are concealed from the public because he has no means of giving them to the world, to be understood with the same purity of intention as they were written. Junius and Glover both praise and blame from themselves with the same political views; and whether right or wrong, they never echo other men's opinions, nor give the sentiments of a party, nor the dogmas of a faction.

As the Editor of this pamphlet will, very probably, never again intrude this subject upon the public, he cannot forbear reminding the reader to

consider the political character of Mr. Glover in a general and comprehensive view.

He commenced his attachment to the Prince of Wales at nineteen years of age, when he was regarded as of his party, patronized by him as a man of genius, and received by him as a political friend. The Prince continuing in opposition to what were deemed tory politics, Glover continued attached to him for twenty years, till his death: and afterwards retained the same principles in opposition to the King, on the whole, including a space of time, of unchanged, and unwavering political conduct, for twenty-nine years.

Here it is proper to advert to the manner which Glover expresses himself of this King in the retirement of his closet,<sup>a</sup> when he endeavours to "delineate with accuracy and truth the causes of this nation's fall," as he declares, untinctured with personal prejudice.

At the accession of his present Majesty, Glover hailed the young King with rapturous hopes, but they were no sooner formed, than disappointed; and, incompetent and vicious ministers, according to his views, recalled to his mind the power of Walpole and the reign of the Pelhams, and till he ceased to have any political influence, he considered this nation to be on the eve of ruin.

<sup>a</sup> See Mem. p. 32. 40. 66. and Addenda, p 114.



Junius, at the accession, flattered himself with the bright prospect of future events, but, disappointed, like Glover, is equally steady in his hostility to those who were in opposition to his patriotism, and like him, professing to have no personal hatred, indulges in the same unqualified invective against George the Third and his ministers, as Glover employs against George the Second, and *professedly* from the same motives.

Of Mr. Glover's poetical compositions it ought not to be forgotten, that *Leonidas* itself was written to rouse, as the author imagined, an oppressed and enslaved people to the vindication of their rights; and this in some measure accounts for its unexampled popularity at the time it was published,<sup>a</sup> and for its subsequent neglect.

\* "Nothing else was read or talked of at Leicester House."

*Dr. Warton.*

It went through five or six editions rapidly, and in Ireland Swift inquires of Pope, "Pray who is that Mr. Glover, who writ the epic poem called *Leonidas*, which is reprinted here, and hath much vogue?"

Lord Lyttelton praised this poem in the highest terms, not only for its poetical beauties, but its political tendency: "the whole plan and purpose of it being to shew the superiority of freedom over slavery; and how much virtue, public spirit, and the love of liberty are preferable both in their nature and effects, to riches, luxury, and the insolence of power."

Glover's *Progress of Commerce* and his *Hosier's Ghost*, are both political compositions, written with a view to stimulate the nation at that time to resent the conduct of the Spaniards.

Of *Hosier's Ghost*, some idea of its popularity may be formed

Dr. Brocklesby, who was Glover's intimate friend, has left this record of his esteem.

"He lived as if he had been bred a disciple of Socrates, or companion of Aristides. Hence his political turn of mind, hence his unwarped affection and active zeal for the rights and liberties of his country.—Hence his heartfelt exultation whenever he had to paint the impious designs of tyrants in ancient times frustrated, or in modern, defeated in their nefarious purposes to extirpate liberty, or to trample on the unalienable rights of man, however remote in time or space from his immediate presence. In a few words, for the extent of his various erudition, for his unalloyed patriotism, and for his daily exercise and constant practice of Xenophon's philosophy, in his private as well as in public life, Mr. Glover has left none his equal in the city, and some time it is feared may elapse before such another citizen may arise, with eloquence, with character, and with poetry, like his, to assert their rights, or to vindicate with equal powers the just claims of free born men."

by this remark of Horace Walpole, in a letter to the Hon. Henry Seymour Conway: "As to Hosier's Ghost, I think it very easy, and consequently pretty; but from the ease, should never have guessed it Glover's. I delight in you, *the patriots cry it up, and the courtiers cry it down, and the hawkers cry it up and down.*"

## ADDENDA.

Continued in the next column

At the commencement of the year 1855, I was again elected to the office of Secretary of the Board of Education, and I have the honor to acknowledge the confidence reposed in me by the Board. I have the honor to acknowledge the confidence reposed in me by the Board. I have the honor to acknowledge the confidence reposed in me by the Board.

ADDED

The first was a scheme of raising money by selling tickets for the exhibition of pictures and other objects of interest. The second was a scheme of raising money by selling tickets for the exhibition of pictures and other objects of interest.

*Extracts from the original Memoir as additional testimony in favour of the opinions contained in the preceding pages.*

AT the commencement of the year 1757.

“After the expectation raised by the preceding pages, it is scarcely credible to myself, that, while endeavouring to recapitulate the transactions of this interesting sessions, I should find them all within the old narrow circle, trite, trifling, and iniquitous, except one absurd deviation from the plain track of borrowing money for the annual supplies, were an affectation of doing better than well, ended in disappointment and disgrace.

“Sir John Barnard was the Director, now grown old, yet less debilitated in body than in mind. He stole from a poor half-witted zealot, Henriques, his gambling scheme of a guinea-lottery, and prevailed, to establish in effect, a gaming-table in every county, under the sanction of government, which held the fallacious box; that unaxed indigence might be gulled into a contribution, when property only should pay to the public. This lottery consisted of a million of tickets; and out of the million of guineas subscribed 550,000*l.* was to remain with the government, and 550,000*l.* in prizes among the adventurers. The next, was a scheme of raising

2,500,000*l.* by annuities for lives with a benefit of survivorship. I declared to the principal persons in power my utter dislike, and even contempt, of both these projects.<sup>a</sup> The lottery was kept open for six or seven months, and was not half filled at last. The sums subscribed to the life-annuities did not exceed an eighth part of the whole.

“ Fifty-five thousand seamen and marines, 49,749 landmen for Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey were voted, and proper care taken to relieve the distressed Hanoverians and Hessians, who were re-embarked for their own country in the spring agreeably to the king’s necessities and original design. These were matters of course; not one new measure of consequence was accomplished by the new ministry in parliament; it is true, the servile majority was against them;<sup>b</sup> their leader Mr. Pitt, a great part of the time was restrained, by his indisposition, from attending the House; it may be urged, that from the certainty of losing every question, nothing could be done by them; but it is as certain that nothing of importance was attempted, but by Colonel Townshend; in those gallant attempts Pitt should have

<sup>a</sup> See Letters of Junius on Lord North’s genius for finance, Vol. i. p. 52, and Vol. ii. p. 148. *Edit.*

<sup>b</sup> Junius always speaks of the Parliament as possessing a limited authority, Vol. i. p. \*287, \*289, 191, &c. and censures its acts with the same freedom when the decision of the majority was at variance with his opinion. *Edit.*

been the principal, or left a second part to him who was altogether pliant and subservient. He pressed the militia in behalf of his country, Pitt espoused it for the sake of popularity; it was contrived, however, to mortify its noble parent by reducing the numbers to about 30,000, not one half of the old bill, and changing the training day from the Sunday to the Monday, for which purpose the bishops, and the cheap-bought tools among the dissenting clergy, were effectually employed, and for whose tender consciences Mr. Pitt expressed a tender concern. In fine, the bill passed modelled to the sense and relish of such court sycophants as Hardwicke.—

“The inquiry into the loss of Minorca was begun, and prosecuted with equal activity, diligence, and integrity by the same gentleman, unassisted by any but Mr. Waller and myself. I never left him, examined, and digested all the evidence for him, and am a witness to his undiscouraged assiduity in comparing my collection of the evidence with his own, and with the original documents, transcribing every particular with their proper references in his own hand, and imprinting in his mind both method and matter; no Brief, though less comprehensive than his, was ever more accurately arranged, and no pleader more completely prepared.—

“This subject must be interrupted, as some facts must be traced back, and anecdotes revealed, preparatory to the great change which took place

in the midst of the sessions, and several days before the opening of the inquiry.

“ The king’s unalterable aversion to his new servants was notorious, from the cold and slighting reception he gave them on their kissing his hand. Awed by the spirit of Mr. Pitt, the King did not break the forms of civility to him. To his counsels he would grant a patient ear, but his heart, still in the hands of others, was unsusceptible of impression. Legge, who had refused to sign the warrant for the first quarter of the Hessian subsidy, and Dr. Hay, who had formerly been made King’s advocate, but had frustrated the Duke of Newcastle’s expectations of him, were both sinners not to be forgiven. Earl Temple was the most hated of all: he, against his own inclination, was put at the head of the Admiralty, and was obliged to transact with the King and the Duke of Cumberland all Pitt’s business during his frequent indispositions, which rendered him incapable of personal attendance. His life was truly intolerable. His whole intercourse with the Duke of Cumberland consisted in reiteration to obtain for an American expedition the troops, which, after so much difficulty, were extorted at last, and were short of the number proposed. In the cabinet, whither this double duty of minister for the time, and at the head of the admiralty continually led him, he experienced nothing but insults and ill manners. Temple seldom failed to express a manly and noble resentment on these occasions, and thereby rendered himself the more



obnoxious. His demeanour in office was frank, ingenuous, unassuming, and obliging to all, whether applying for his favour, or assisting him with advice and intelligence. Thus stood the new administration at court.

“ In the House of Commons the first who appeared against them were Fox and Lord Egmont. Soon after the meeting, when Mr. Grenville had made a motion to quarter the foreign troops during their stay in England, these gentlemen took occasion to inveigh against the measure of sending such a force out of the country before our own troops were complete. Grenville, who supplied the place of Pitt, made answer, that there was a necessity for sending those troops back, intimating, that they were wanted, by the king, abroad. Lord Egmont, with a sneer, signified his wish, that no question might be put, because he was unwilling that it should go against the administration by a great majority. It is certain if a motion had been made to address his Majesty for the further detention of the foreign forces, it would have been carried against the administration. For my own part, I wish it had been made and carried, that the House might have undergone the mortification of the King's positive refusal. Another small opposition was formed to a very rational step of Mr. Pitt, the raising two regiments in the Highlands, and transporting them to North America under the command of Mr. Montgomery

and the master of Lovat, both men of character here, and of interest in Scotland. The Duke of Cumberland, who cared little for America, threw all the obstacles he could in the way, and when he could not succeed in defeating the project, refused to give the commanders the rank they were entitled to, and, instead of colonels-commandant, would make them no more than lieutenant-colonels. Montgomery told me, that the duke refused the assistance of some old serjeants and corporals to train the men, and that a considerable time was spent before their arms could be procured from the Tower.

“Not three months were now elapsed since the meeting of parliament, when it became apparent to the public, that the complexion of the King, Lords, and Commons, was so unfavourable to Mr. Pitt, that he was understood by all, to be only *a nominal minister without a grain of power*, which he confirmed in those very words by a declaration in the House. His bodily infirmities, together with these provocations, added peevishness to pride, and, growing daily more inaccessible and reserved, he rather lost, than gained adherents. On one occasion he ran the hazard of being deserted by all the country gentlemen, hitherto his warmest friends, and to whom he had made some court.

“It was about the middle of February when he had resolved to move for a vote of 200,000*l.* to

assist his Majesty in forming an army of observation, &c., and towards enabling him to fulfil his engagement with the King of Prussia, &c. ; this he determined without condescending to consult the country first ; or even Colonel Townshend. I chanced to visit that gentleman on the eve of this intended motion. I found him much disconcerted and displeased ; he told me this particular, and that all his friends took it most unkindly of Mr. Pitt. I soon perceived that the word unkind was used in a sense much stronger than its natural meaning. Mr. Townshend added, that Mr. Pitt intended to postpone the militia, which was the order of the house the next day, to make room for his motion. In fine, it was probable, that an opposition would be made by the disgusted country gentlemen. I represented to Mr. Townshend the misfortune and weakness of destroying a whole system, because Mr. Pitt had been inadvertent and peevish ; I conjured him to allow for his ill state of health and hasty temper ; that he would pay him a visit the next morning, and use all his interest to mollify his ill humours, which were gathering. He replied, that he had already discoursed with Legge and George Grenville upon the subject, yet they seemed afraid to talk with Pitt about it, and had referred the task to him ; yet he did not see, that it was his affair more than theirs, and that he would not undertake a thing where he had no chance of success. He

protested that this was not the effect of pride in himself; that he would run after any man with a prospect of serving the public, but in the present case the mischief was done, and past his power to retrieve. Upon this I rose, took him by the hand, and delivered myself thus. "My dear Mr. Townshend, I have no further arguments to use, but I will not quit this house till you promise to follow my advice." To this he most obligingly replied, "I promise you I will, merely because you insist upon it, though I am still unconvinced, and without hopes of doing any thing." This accidental interview of mine with Townshend prevented all the impending mischief. He mollified Viner, Northey, Sir Charles Mordaunt, and the other country gentlemen; the next morning, he saw Pitt, and was one of the members who introduced him to the house: his long fit of the gout and his two relapses, had prevented his taking his seat there ever since it was vacated by his acceptance of the seals. Mr. Pitt's motion passed *nem. con.* and old Viner himself made him a compliment on the occasion. It must be said, there never was a cheaper Hanoverian bargain, and the most palatable too, as it included the interest, at least the name, of the idolized King of Prussia; but that merit, so endearing to Mr. Viner and his friends, served but to weaken Mr. Pitt still more with the court, and its prostitute instruments, the two houses of parliament. The King was con-

vinced by long experience that any other minister would have sacrificed much more to the safety of Hanover. The court members had constantly been lavish of their sneers on Mr. Pitt's connection with Tories and Jacobites. Mr. Fox, more ably, on the 18th of February, the day of Pitt's motion, reminded him of some passages in the last sessions, inferring the inconsistency of his language then, and now, on the subject of continental measures."

"It must be admitted, that of all the Duke of Newcastle's allies Pitt was the most untractable. An instance of his spirit, and the Duke's treachery within a month after their union, appears by the following letter from Mr. Martin. This transaction would have served Mr. Pitt greatly in recovering his popularity, yet it was never made known to the public. I shall only premise, that at this time, the French under D'Etrees had entered Hanover, whither the Duke of Cumberland had been sent to oppose them.

" Aug. 11, 1757.

" DEAR SIR,

" Not having had an opportunity of seeing you before I left London, I am forced to

write what I have for some days wanted to communicate to you.

“ I desire you would recollect the substance of the last note which I sent you from Downing-street; it was, that I thought the time at no great distance, when my friends would convince the public of the uprightness of their intentions. The article which I then alluded to, was what I had mentioned to you before in conversation; that some parts of the ministry, pursuing their old, well-tried, and approved system, of courting Royal favours, would in all probability propose to send some of our national troops abroad; and, that this proposition once made, would afford my friends the opportunity of manifesting their sincerity. The event has actually happened, but with so little noise, that I question whether the report has ever reached your ears; for which reason I resolved to take the trouble of acquainting you with the fact.

“ On last Tuesday fortnight, (25th July,) when an action was expected hourly between the French and Hanoverians, a proposition was laid before the Cabinet, to alter the destination of the troops then prepared to embark on a secret expedition, and use the transports to convey them to Germany, in order to support the Duke of Cumberland, and recruit his army in case of any disaster to his forces, so very inferior to the

enemy. Mr. Legge being at that time in the country, every member in the Cabinet Council assented to this proposal except Mr. Pitt alone, who desired that the minute of their resolution might be entered up with notice of his dissent. This firm and spirited proposal so intimidated the whole knot of politicians, that not one of the gentlemen could pluck up the spirit to support his own opinion, being all more apprehensive of disgrace by an unpopular measure taken in opposition to Mr. Pitt, than eager to recommend themselves by adhering to that flattering doctrine: in short, the point was waved, and the opinions of the whole company given up, upon the spot, to Mr. Pitt.

“Next, it was considered, who of the company should undertake to deliver the account of their proceedings, according to custom, to his Majesty. Those who had deserted their first tenets, declined the task of committing themselves to their master; and it fell at last on Mr. Pitt to be the relator of his own, single, obstinate, offensive, resistance to all the Cabinet.—He was reproached, when he had acquitted himself of this service, with setting himself up as a dictator to all the rest of the Ministers.—Complaints were uttered by the Sovereign, that he was abandoned by his own subjects and kingdom—that as Elector of Hanover he ought to be considered by Great Britain in the quality of an ally at least; and it

would be an infidelity as atrocious to desert him in the day of distress, as it had been to abandon the grand Confederates in the year 1714: all which was imputable to the haughtiness of Mr. Pitt prescribing to all the rest of the Cabinet.

“ Mr. Pitt answered, by stating the grounds of his opinion, particularly with respect to the risque to which his Majesty’s kingdoms would be exposed by such an insufficient and impotent attempt to rescue his Electorate; adding, that his Majesty was the master of the Councils of State, with authority to pursue such measures as he thought proper, whether they were advised by his whole Cabinet, or by one individual differing from the rest: that he, (Mr. Pitt,) presumed not to dictate, but could not help retaining such sentiments as appeared to him to be right, without presuming to regulate his Majesty’s conduct by his opinion.

“ ‘ If my kingdoms will be exposed to danger, that is a situation, which, I am sure, I do not desire to be instrumental in bringing about; and whether that be the case or not, you will not fail to state the matter in that light to the House of Commons.’

“ ‘ Sir, while I have the honour to continue in your service, I shall deliver nothing any where, as your Majesty’s sentiments, but by your own express consent; but, when I declare my own sentiments, they will be such as I shall then



think it my duty to disclose.'—'Well, then, you must do what you please with my fleets, and my troops; and, remember, you are answerable for the disposition that is taken.'—So much for the honour of Mr. Pitt, from whose mouth I had these particulars. You must not mention the authority for the facts; though I wish I was at liberty to empower you to do so.—I shall now trouble you with something to my own honour. I enclose for your perusal the copy of a letter sent by me on Saturday, 30th July, to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, whereby you will see the motives on which I have forborne to accept of the promotions designed me. I am not only pleased with my own conduct, but much delighted with the hopes of approbation from my friends. If this be vanity, I consent, that any other man may enjoy it on the same terms. Send me back the copy of my letter, because I must send it to my father, and don't care for the trouble of transcribing. Your's, &c.

"SAMUEL MARTIN."

"TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

"July 30, 1757.

"MY LORD,

"Though I have solid reasons to be satisfied with the conduct not only of Mr. Legge, but likewise of your Grace towards me; yet it happens very unfortunately, that I cannot profit

at present by the good intentions of either. I had the honour of a conversation this morning with Mr. West, from whom I understood very clearly, that Mr. Bannister, the Collector of the Customs at Antigua, cannot be made a Commissioner of the Victualling, (in order to introduce my father into his place as Collector,) without forcing a place in the Victualling-office by a pension upon old Naval Stores: and that I cannot be appointed Paymaster of the Marines, without creating the present possessor of that post a supernumerary Commissioner of the Customs; in both which articles your Grace is ready to comply for the sake of accommodating me, and obliging my friends.

“Since Mr. West left me, I have been considering attentively of these arrangements, and find, that my two points cannot be attained, but by an expense of 1500*l.* a year to the public; the proposed pension upon the old stores being 500*l.* per annum, and the salary of the intended additional Commissioner of the Customs being 1000*l.* more. Both sums are to come out of the purse of the people of Great Britain; the first out of the produce of a national fund accountable to Parliament; the other out of the revenue of Customs, which is to all intents the nation's estate, after paying the King's demands towards his Civil List, and after paying certain demands to public creditors. Now, my Lord, if your Grace will

permit me to deliver my poor sentiments frankly, I have always disapproved of this method of loading the public for the gratification of individuals; which seems to me to be peculiarly unfit in a time of national distress: and what I have thought wrong in the case of others, I should be self-condemned, if I consented to, and became a principal party in, for my own private emolument. I do not presume to judge your Grace, who is not to be tried by my principles, and to whom I am beholden for seeking every expedient to serve me; but those principles, such as they are, whether sound or whimsical, must govern me. To say the truth, I could not hereafter, without shame, reflect, that so insignificant a fellow as I am, of no particular deserving to the State, should, for my own private use, raise a contribution of 1500*l.* a year upon my fellow subjects; and this at a most critical juncture, when every shilling that they can pay is wanted for public services. I consider likewise, that the world would not fail to reproach my friends for suffering me to be brought into office to the immediate detriment of their country, whose welfare they pretend to have at heart.

“ Upon the whole, I must be content to wait, till vacancies shall afford your Grace the opportunity of carrying your designs into execution in favour both of my father and myself, proposing more satisfaction from this sacrifice, than what

would result from any addition to my circumstances, narrow and stinted as they are.\*

“In the mean time, I must acquit your Grace, who have done every thing that could be well expected in discharge of your engagement with relation to me; and, on the other hand, I hope you will do me the justice not to impute to me, and my conduct in this affair more whim, caprice, affectation, or weakness, than you shall find absolutely necessary and unavoidable.”

This admirable epistle would have lain buried in oblivion, had not I taken a copy, and made the author's merit known in despite of his uniform insensibility to all circumstances which tended to exalt his own character.

Having now unravelled in some measure the secret intrigues of our great men, I proceed to a concise relation of our military undertakings, which amounted to no more than two unsuccessful and inglorious expeditions, one against Rochfort, the other against Louisbourg.

On the 8th of September, Sir Edward Hawke, with eighteen ships, besides frigates; and Sir John Mordaunt with 8,000 land-forces, set sail from Portsmouth. The vigour and diligence exerted in the preparation had revived our national

\* He had no more at that time than an annuity of 300l. which his father bought to qualify him for a seat in Parliament.

enthusiasm and expectation, founded on the secrecy as much as on the force employed in the expedition, restored Mr. Pitt to all his popular lustre. On the 20th the fleet appeared on the coast of France: on the 23d an insignificant fort on the Isle of Aix was taken: on the 25th, in a Council of War of the principal land and sea officers, it was unanimously resolved to make an attempt at Rochfort. On the 28th, they came to a resolution of landing; on the 29th they changed their minds; and, on the 1st of October set sail for Portsmouth again. This expedition, ended as usual, in an Inquiry and a Court Martial. Sir John Mordaunt was acquitted. I can venture to pronounce, not only from the public evidence, but from private and undoubted information, which came to my own knowledge, that had our troops landed on their first approach, Rochfort would have fallen into their hands, and all the docks, naval stores, and ships of war in the river Charente, been destroyed.

Mordaunt was the only officer tried; Hawke seems to me little less culpable than he; mankind in general cast the chief blame on General Conway and Admiral Knowles: whether these last deserved the imputation of defeating the design from mere party considerations, I will leave for the present, to be discovered by time.

At Louisbourg the French garrison was suspected to be stronger than our army of 10,000

men, which Lord Loudon reconducted from Halifax to New York. During his absence, the French General, Montcalm, took Fort William Henry. Holbourne, who commanded the fleet, the most severe of Byng's judges in the interpretation of the words, *not do his utmost*, in the 12th Article of War, on the 21st of August, fled with sixteen ships of the line from off Louisbourg to Halifax, on the French Admiral making a signal, which Holbourne understood to unmoor, and give him battle. The French fleet consisted of seventeen ships of the line, larger in size, it must be allowed, than most of Holbourne's; but, as he knew the enemy to be sickly, his flight was the more ignominious. Being afterwards reinforced with four fresh capital ships, he returned to his station, and staid till his fleet had almost perished in a storm. One of the line was wrecked, the rest were dismasted, all were shaken: of the fleet, seven of the line were left at Halifax under Lord Colville; the others arrived at different times in England, during the course of December. The French squadron returned safe to Brest not long after; but the mortality at Louisbourg, in the passage home, and afterwards at Brest, cost them the lives of 10,000 seamen at least. These are the material British transactions which appeared to merit observation in the year 1757.

[1758.] "On the 18th of January the House received a message from the king, implying that

the padlock was taken off the Hanoverian swords. This message, delivered by Mr. Pitt, was to the following effect;—That since the 28th of last November, the army in his majesty's Electoral dominions had again been put into motion, with the utmost vigor, against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, &c.—and that his Majesty found himself under the absolute necessity of recommending to the House the speedy consideration of such a present supply, as might enable him, in this critical exigency, to subsist and keep together the said army. For this express purpose 100,000*l.* was voted *nem. con.* by the committee on the 23d of January.

I must do justice to Mr. George Grenville, who differed widely from every person in office, and in the midst of these transactions was quite desponding. Lord Temple, averse to the continent at first, yielded at length to the new measures; and went so far, as to entertain warm hopes of success. Such too was the general expectation, but not a thought of sending a man to Germany. All concurred in granting large subsidies, but no troops, as they had been taught by Mr. Pitt's own declarations, that not a man should set his foot on the continent. He persisted so far in this seeming resolution, that the long delay of the new Prussian treaty was altogether owing to his peremptory refusal of troops.

This necessarily leads to an explanation of that

tedious negotiation. On the authority of Mr. Samuel Martin, I affirm, that Mr. Andrew Mitchell, our minister at the court of Berlin, was recalled for having corresponded with Lord Granville, and at his suggestion instigated the King of Prussia to demand the assistance of British troops, to which, Martin said, Pitt and his friends would never consent. Lord Temple and Mr. Legge confirmed this to me by charging the requisition of troops on some, at home. I was further informed, particularly by Mr. Martin,\* that the King of Prussia had originally invested his envoy Mitchell with full powers to sign the treaty on our own terms at London, but on the hints given him, to insist on troops, had superseded those powers. Colonel York was dispatched to take Andrew Mitchell's place at Berlin, but was stopped half way, as the King of Prussia declared he would not part with Mitchell. Mr. Legge was then proposed

\* I have since seen a letter from Mitchell to Holderness, of the 9th of February, 1758, which acknowledges the receipt of the convention; and that the King of Prussia repeatedly refused to sign it: disliking the clause of subsidy, and obligation not to make peace but by mutual consent; both which are strongly enforced by a letter from Holderness of the 25th of February. The King of Prussia, in lieu of these, insisted on our sending a fleet into the Baltic, and a body of national troops into Germany. Mitchell, upon the suspicions before alleged, was recalled, but before his departure, the King of Prussia acquiesced in our terms. This negotiation was closely followed after the victory of Rosbach; though a correspondence leading to a new treaty might have begun before.



as a kind of ambassador or plenipotentiary to the King. This proposition had likewise no effect. In fine, after a suspense of many months, the King of Prussia finding Mr. Pitt's refusal of troops insurmountable, sent over a new minister to London, Baron Kynphausen, who jointly with Mitchell, signed the treaty on the 11th of April, by which it is agreed, that Great Britain should pay "that Monarch the sum of 670,000*l.* at once, and in one whole sum, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications being demanded by his Prussian majesty," for this, the king of Prussia stipulated, in the *2d article*, that, "He will apply the said sum to the maintaining and augmenting his forces, which forces shall act in the best manner for the good of the common cause, and for the purpose of reciprocal defence and mutual security proposed by their said Majesties."

'Article 3. Moreover the high contracting parties, to wit, his Britannic Majesty, both as King and Elector on one side, and on the other, his Prussian Majesty, engage not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce or neutrality, nor any other sort of convention or agreement with the powers engaged in the present war, but in concert, by mutual agreement, wherein both shall be by name comprehended."

"Let the successes of Great Britain be ever so considerable, she is bound by this treaty to make no peace with France, without the King of Prussia

whatever may be his ill fortune in the war with Austria, Russia, Sweden, and the Empire; he might therefore be well contented with the result of his negociation, notwithstanding Mr. Pitt's inflexible refusal of troops. To this instance of Mr. Pitt's adhering to his frequent declarations, that not a man should go to Germany, it will be material in this place to add many others.

First, the reports industriously propagated by his friends, while he was yet in office, at the beginning of last year; that he caused the Duke of Cumberland's application for two battalions to be rejected, when that Prince was appointed to command the army of observation. Mr. Fox, indeed, asserted in the House of Commons, that no application of that sort had ever been made, and was not contradicted: yet Mr. Pitt's party thought it of consequence, that the public should believe that such an application had been made; to convince the nation of Mr. Pitt's aversion to continental measures.

As a second instance, I must repeat a passage from p. \*: "On the 19th of May 1757, a demand of a vote of credit for a million was laid before the House: Mr. Pitt on his motion declared, that while he was in his Majesty's service, he was given to understand, that no further sum would be required for the service of the Continent that Sessions, than the 200,000*l.* granted for that pur-

\* This reference is left blank in the MS. *Edit.*

pose in February last, and proposed an amendment to the motion. The amendment limited the application of the vote of credit to British services only, excepting a small portion which he agreed might be given to the Hessian troops, under the head of forage, in consideration of the scarcity and unexpected rise in the price of that article: that Great Britain should be no otherwise concerned upon the Continent, than in keeping the war alive there in a defensive manner, that her offensive efforts should be confined to the sea, and North America.

“ The third instance is contained at large, in Mr. Martin’s letter to me on the 11th of August 1757, soon after Mr. Pitt was restored to his employment,\* when he singly opposed the Duke of Newcastle and the whole Cabinet Council which had agreed to assist the Duke of Cumberland in Germany, with the forces then embarked for the descent on Rochefort. This proposition was quashed by Mr. Pitt, unseconded by any one present, and he was the only member of the Cabinet who undertook to relate their proceeding to their Master.

“ With such persevering firmness could this minister act at a period, when the British Parliament had bound itself by repeated addresses to

\* See this letter page 99

defend the King's Electoral dominions; yet, when the Electorate had absolved these kingdoms from that obligation, and by a convention of its own, without any British interposition, had detached itself both from Great Britain and Prussia; this very minister, abusing the confidence of a credulous people, plunged them into an expence of blood and treasure unknown to former experience; and beyond the designs, even the ideas, of the most corrupt and daring, whom he had so frequently and recently confronted upon the subject of Continental Systems. He was the man on whom the public once depended as a check to such ruinous attempts: he was the man who sacrificed that public, for the precarious favour of an insincere unforgiving old man, tottering on the verge of the grave. Troops could be held from the Duke of Cumberland: his success would be strength to Fox. A proposition from the Duke of Newcastle would be opposed for that purpose; Newcastle would have had all the merit; and he will have it; and my prophecy to Mr. Pitt in these words be verified, "Then shall I be grieved to see you, the first man in Great Britain, at this juncture, become a subaltern to the lowest."







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